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15 September 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1586

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOVIET ROLE IN INSURING ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE STRESSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 78 p 6 AU

["(JL)"-signed article: "The Feat of the Romanian People; the 34th Anniversary of Romania's Liberation"]

[Text] The international situation that emerged 34 years ago--and on which the victorious progress of Soviet troops was a key influence--led to the creation of an anti-Hitlerite patriotic front in Romania, a front that in August 1943 decided on the victorious antifascist, anti-imperialist national uprising. Thus the path was opened toward revolutionary and democratic changes in Romanian society.

Year after year we, too, recall the heroism of Romanian antifascist fighters and express, together with the Romanian working people, gratitude to the courageous Soviet soldiers who decisively participated in the defeat of Nazi Germany and in the liberation of many nations from fascist bondage. We recall that it was the Soviet Union that saw to it that the peace treaty of 1947, signed in Paris, would in no way affect Romania's independence. We know that the Soviet-Romanian treaty of 1948 meant significant assistance in building up the country during the realization of basic structural and social changes and in building the material-technical base of socialism. In the same way it remains a historical fact that it was the Soviet Union that had exerted efforts to enable Romania to take its place in the United Nations and later, after Romanis had concluded treaties of alliance with the other socialist states, to consolidate its position in the international forum.

The past years of Romania's socialist existence justify the views of the best sons of the Romanian people: it is exactly in the close cooperation with other socialist countries that they have seen the socialist future, independence and lasting prosperity of their fatherland. Today Romanian industry produces 40 times more than it did in 1948; by 1976 the national income had increased more than 11 times. The country which before the war was among the scarcely developed agrarian countries, has now changed into an industrial state; simultaneously its agricultural production has increased three times over, compared with the period before 1938. And the

people's living standards in this period cannot be compared with those known to the prewar generations. The simultaneous progress in housing construction and development of education, culture and medical services are remarkable. In the years 1950-1977 more than 4 million new apartments were built, and almost two thirds of the Romanian population had moved into them.

The Romanian people have accomplished a splendid task. In the first half of the present Five-Year Plan they saw to it that the industry produced values amounting to 40 billion lei over and above the plan--even though the original state plan was raised. It is expected that more than 120 billion lei worth of goods will be produced over and above the original estimates of the Five-Year Plan.

Indisputably the results achieved are also the result of Romania's economic and trade cooperation with the other socialist countries. This is understandable, even if only because Romania, too, can hardly do without the common establishment of basic prerequisites for the development of its socialist production forces. For them, too, cooperation with the countries of the socialist community, and the USSR in particular, is effective in this respect.

Czechoslovak-Romanian relations are characterized by traditional, good cooperation. Both sides attribute great significance--both bilateral and multilateral--to all documents concerning cooperation, because the realization of these documents serves the interests of both countries, as well all those of the entire community.

The Romanian people's state holiday provides the opportunity for pondering in broader political-historical contexts on the results achieved on the path of the country's socialist development. This is a balance testifying to social advance and is simultaneously proof that all the sacrifices made in the armed national uprising in August 1944 and in the Romanian troops' fight at the side of the Soviet Army against Hitlerite Germany have not been in vain. And it also testifies to the internationalist feelings of the Romanian people, who constantly recall that the battles jointly conducted by the Soviet and Romanian units have cemented the friendship of the Romanian nation and the nations of the Soviet Union, and the the international socialist division of labor among the CEMA countries too, has significantly shared in the feat accomplished during these 34 years.

CSO: 2400

## BULGARIA

### DEFENSE MINISTER SPEAKS AT PLEVEN GRADUATION CEREMONY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Aug 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of speech by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, at graduation ceremony for officers of the "GS Rakovski" Military Academy in Pleven on 26 August]

[Text] Esteemed guests and citizens of Pleven City,

Comrades Generals and Officers, Comrade Officers, Graduates of the "Georgi Stoydov Rakovski" Military Academy and of military academies in the Soviet Union, Dear Young Officers, Graduates of Higher Military Schools, Comrades, according to an established tradition the graduation of officers from higher military schools and the graduation of students who have successfully accomplished their studies at military academies in our country and in the Soviet Union is being festively celebrated in historic places, connected with heroic events, places which have played a role of decisive importance in Bulgaria's sociopolitical development.

This tradition is an expression of loyalty to our heroic and revolutionary past, an expression of love and gratitude for the heroic deeds and self-sacrifice of the glorious sons of Russia and of the Soviet Union, who have their lives for our freedom. This tradition represents a tribute paid to the heroism, military exploits and glorious memory of the perished sons of our motherland who sacrificed their lives on the sacred altar of their native land for the people's freedom and happiness.

Today this moving ceremony made us come together in Pleven--a city with an heroic past, glorious present and bright future. It is the city of Russian military glory, the city of Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, the city of the heroic deeds accomplished by General Skobelev, by the immortal Major Gortalov and by General Totleben, the city where thousands of Russian soldiers gave their lives for our national liberation. Pleven is also the city of the June 1923 uprising, the city of Kosta Zlatarev, Slavi Aleksiev, Vasil Topalski, Lenko Mishev, Zvetan Spasov and of numerous detachments of fighters against fascism and capitalism. Today Pleven is a modern, socialist

city, the working citizens of which, under the leadership of the BCP, are marching in our people's front ranks in building a developed socialist society.

Dear Comrades of Pleven City, I take this opportunity to express, on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense, and on my own behalf, sincere gratitude to the Pleven party, state and economic leaders, to the public in the city of Pleven and in Pleven Okrug for the great love, respect and response they are manifesting as regards the Bulgarian People's Army, for their energetic organizational work in preparing the present festive ceremony and for the cordial hospitality they are offering us.

Comrades, our festive ceremony is taking place in a year when our people, together with all their friends throughout the world, are celebrating the centennial of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman oppression. This liberation was a historic event which restored the sovereignty of our ancient, but eternally young state, a state which has existed for 13 centuries.

We chose the city of Pleven for the graduation of the young officers because in this place, 100 years ago, those merciless combats took place which were of decisive importance for our long-suffering people. We chose this city because here in the surroundings of Pleven, Russians, Bulgarians and Romanians have jointly shed their blood for the freedom of our enslaved motherland.

We chose this city because the fall of Pleven and the capture of Osman Pasha and his entire army of 40,000 which was solemnly announced by 101 gun salutes and welcomed by a powerful and unending Russian "Hurrah," with the unspeakable enthusiasm of the liberated citizens of Pleven, was virtually decisive for the entire outcome of the liberation war.

The victory of Russia in this war, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov has stated, was a great event in the 1,300 year-old existence of Bulgaria. This event restored the Bulgarian state and abolished feudalism. It inaugurated a new epoch in our people's socioeconomic development.

As a gesture of eternal gratitude to Russia for our country's liberation from the Ottoman oppression and in honor of the centennial of these great events, in honor of the selfless courage of the Russian soldiers during Bulgaria's liberation and throughout the Pleven battles, we decided that the young new officers who will be graduated in the city of Pleven will bear the honorary title of the "graduates of liberation--1978."

Dear Young Officers, Graduates of Liberation:

It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you most sincerely and cordially on the occasion of your graduation to the rank of officers and on the occasion of the title "graduates of liberation" which is being conferred on you. It is a pleasure to congratulate you on behalf of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, on behalf of the State Council, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as well as on behalf of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central

Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, personally and on my own behalf.

From now on you are standing in the close ranks of officers, you are joining the difficult but noble officers' profession.

Be proud of being the heirs of the glorious heroes, be proud of your call to join the ranks of the army and to defend the cause for which those heroes of the past sacrificed their lives at Shipka and Plevna. You must now justify the great trust put in you through your deeds, you must proudly carry the banner of freedom.

Our festive ceremony is taking place in the same month in which the Bulgarian people festively celebrated the anniversary of another epic of heroism and patriotism in our national history. Only a few weeks ago we celebrated the 75th anniversary of the Ilinden-Transfiguration Day uprising, the uprising in which the Bulgarian population of Macedonia and of the Edirne area arose to a resolute struggle against the Sultan's despotism.

Today is the 34th anniversary of the date when the historic Okrug Instruction No Four was issued, by which the BCP Central Committee gave direct instructions regarding the task of an armed uprising aimed at overthrowing the monarchofascist dictatorship and at establishing a people's democratic power.

In implementing this okrug instruction the September 9, 1944 revolution was accomplished, the revolution whose 34th anniversary we will be celebrating in 2 weeks. In honor of this glorious holiday our people are preparing to assess their own achievements in the struggle to implement the decisions adopted at the 11th BCP Congress, at the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and at the National Party Conference. There is reason enough to assess our successes, our pride is justified. Despite the unfavorable climatic conditions, despite the difficulties we came across throughout the first years of the seventh five-year plan period, our successes are greater than ever before. These successes are the results of the gloriously beneficial Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which has become a constant source of material and intellectual strength along our path toward the building of a developed socialist society. A new contribution to the further consolidation of this friendship, to the implementation of the jointly worked out policy of comprehensive cooperation and to drawing closer together between the people's republic of Bulgaria and the USSR was made at the meeting between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea this month.

At the same time, in assessing the successes achieved as well as the unresolved problems and the existing shortcomings, the BCP Central Committee is directing the efforts of the entire party, of the state and economic organs and organizations, the efforts of the workers class and of the agricultural toilers, the efforts of the intelligentsia and of all our people toward the further enhancement of the role played by the subjective factor, toward the perfection of socialist labor organization and of planned economic leadership, toward an increase in the efficiency and an improvement in the quality in all activities concerning our social life.

This should produce the best results in using all our objective and subjective factors for implementing the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, of the BCP Central Committee July Plenum and of the National Party Conference, and further, for satisfying the material and intellectual needs of our working people even better.

Considerable successes were also achieved by our army. Our army is equipped with the most up-to-date military equipment and arms, and the soldiers' and commanders' training is adequate to the necessary standards. Along with the armies of the other socialist Warsaw Pact member-countries, the Bulgarian People's Army is contributing to the consolidation of the socialist community's defensive power and is loyally watching over our national independence as well as over the cause of socialism.

The present international situation is characterized by the complicated intertwinning of two opposed trends: On the one hand the process of political detente continues to develop, although not as rapidly and as uninterruptedly as it should.

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the path of detente is recognized and supported by the peoples as the only sensible path of development in our difficult epoch. The consistent, peace-loving policy conducted by the great Soviet Union has the greatest, decisive share in this trend. The most important proposals on the reduction of military danger, on the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust, on the establishment of lasting peace in our troubled world have been and are being submitted by the Soviet Union and by the other socialist countries. Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, has earned tremendous credit in easing the international atmosphere and for political detente in Europe and throughout the world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria also makes its essential contribution to the common cause of consolidating peace in the world, and more specifically in the Balkans. The foreign policy of our country is a peace-loving, principled and consistent one. It is not influenced by any opportunistic considerations. At the United Nations, at international forums and in its bilateral relations with near and distant countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, side by side with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, has consistently and unrelentingly fought and is still fighting for the consolidation of the unity of the countries belonging to the socialist community, for the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems, for detente and for the elimination of war as a method of resolving and settling controversial problems, for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements in practical life.

This is the policy conducted by our country in the Balkans as well. This policy was confirmed clearly and in a principled way with new emphasis in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech delivered on 15 June 1978 in Blagoevgrad and in the 24 July 1978 declaration of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

We have recently been witnessing certain trends in international relations which cannot fail to raise concern among the peace-loving forces. We cannot fail to see that the imperialist circles are tending toward a more rigid trend on the international scene. This trend is expressed in the striving to exacerbate Soviet-American relations, in the attempt to stop the process of detente and to obstruct the negotiations as well as to establish a military superiority of the imperialist states. For this purpose the arms race is being intensified in the United States and within the NATO bloc, the quality of arms and of combat equipment is being perfected and their quantity increased. Military expenditures are constantly rising. The cases of direct interference, including military interference, of imperialist countries in several areas of the world, and above all in Africa, are becoming increasingly frequent.

The actions of the imperialists aimed at achieving their most cherished goal, namely to split the unity of the fraternal socialist countries, to isolate them from the Soviet Union and to undermine the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, as well as to divide the international communist and workers movement, do not stop.

The most recent example of such striving is the violent campaign conducted in connection with the present 10th anniversary of the Czechoslovak events. As you remember, the Warsaw Pact member-countries--called by their international duty--rendered military assistance to the fraternal CSSR people in their efforts to surpress the counterrevolution which was raging through the country. Such actions are now the object of attacks on the part of rightwing and leftwing revisionists.

The imperialists are enjoying the considerable support of the present Chinese leadership in their attempts. The Maoists opened a genuine second front against the USSR, the socialist countries and the communist movement. On the international scene they are marching side by side with the most reactionary, imperialist forces.

These are the circumstances, Young Comrade Officers, under which you are being promoted to your first officer's rank. This demands from you that from the very first days of your career you should join your efforts and concentrate them upon the main task, which is the following: the maintainance of high combatreadiness within the army so that it may be capable of fulfilling its duties under all circumstances.

Dear Graduates, after a short rest you will assume your new duties and assignments. The troops are already expecting you and they are expecting something from you. During the new training year we will continue to accomplish the difficult and important task assigned to us by the 11th BCP Congress and by the National Party Conference--the task of perfecting the socialist organization of the soldiers' labor, to improve the quality and increase the efficiency of this work. Your efforts must also concentrate upon accomplishing this task because only in this manner will you be able to proceed further in increasing the conscious and iron-strong military discipline and the combat readiness of the troops.

You have acquired the necessary knowledge to fulfill this highly responsible and patriotic duty through your training in the military schools and academies. However, you are well aware of the fact that military science and affairs are developing at exceptionally great speed, that new weapons, as well as combat equipment are constantly being perfected. All this demands a persistent, uninterrupted and persevering improvement of knowledge on your part.

The most important thing for a military leader is his work with men. Men who are ideologically tempered, infinitely devoted to the party and the people's cause, men who are perfectly mastering first-class combat equipment and arms, such men are capable of accomplishing any task whatsoever. This is why you must become attentive and strict commanders, this is why you must constantly display concern for the needs of your subordinates and take care of their education.

You must unrelentingly and consistently implement BCP policy in practical life, you must skillfully use the strength of the party and komsomol organizations in the struggle for a better combat and political training of the troops, in the struggle for an iron-strong military discipline and great combat readiness.

Our army is eternally young. Each year thousands of youths join its ranks, young people who are in the prime of their physical and intellectual strength. It is our responsibility to train and educate these young people for their social development, and this responsibility is great. This responsibility is emerging with new emphasis in the light of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the komsomol Central Committee. To reorganize our entire activity with the young soldiers, with the komsomol members in the army, in accordance with the requirements of this letter--this is now one of the main tasks facing us. We are relying on you greatly in implementing this task, because you are providing new, young strength to our ranks.

On this festive occasion I would like to assure, on your behalf, the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, personally, and on your behalf I would like to assure your parents, your friends and relatives as well as the whole Bulgarian people that you will justify the great honor conferred on you, that you will devote all your heart and soul to the training of courageous defenders of the motherland, of soldiers, who like the Russian heroes and the Bulgarian insurrection fighters, like the Soviet soldiers, will, if necessary, defend the freedom and independence of our beloved socialist fatherland.

Good luck to you, Young Comrades!

Glory to the heroes of the Russian-Turkish liberation war, the heroes of the Plevna epic, who perished with manly courage and gave their lives for the liberation of Bulgaria from Ottoman oppression!

Glory to the BCP--the organizer and source of inspiration for all our victories!

Long live the undestructible and eternal friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples, between the Bulgarian People's Army and the Soviet Army--our liberator!

Long live the unity and combat fraternity of the Warsaw Pact member-countries!

Long live the BCP and its Dimitrov-like Central Committee, the heroic Bulgarian people, long live our cherished socialist motherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria--Hurrah!

CSO: 2200

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### KGB, STB ALLEGED TO HAVE PLOTTED INVASION BY SOVIETS

Berlin DIE WELT in German 19 Aug 78 p 7

[Article by Rudolf Strobinger: "The Way the KGB and the CSSR Secret Service Plotted Dubcek's Downfall"]

[Text] A secret conference convened at the villa of the Czechoslovak State Security [STB] in Jevany, southeast of Prague, discussed concrete actions in the early summer of 1968. Congregating were several officers of the Soviet KGB, newly arrived in the CSSR, the KGB chief adviser at the Prague Ministry of Interior, General Kotov, with his staff, Czechoslovak officers of the STB--which was loyal to Moscow--headed by the CSSR deputy minister of interior, Viliam Salgovic, as well as the CSSR espionage chief, Colonel Houska.

The conference concluded that CSSR State Security officers who had been compromised because of their criminal past were immediately supposed to leave for the Soviet Union or the German Democratic Republic for vacation or to undergo therapy. Other officers, not yet threatened by the reformers' measures, received conspiratorial tasks to be carried out together with the newly arrived KGB officers, the Soviet advisers and the chief resident of the Soviet secret service in Prague, Ivan I. Udaltsov, functioning under cover of an embassy councilor.

The results of the Jevany conference appeared early. The CPCZ okres secretary in Karlovy Vary, Pavelka, received a letter written in German on 11 July 1968. The anonymous letter writer maintained that an arms cache existed under a road bridge in the vicinity of Sokolov. The CSSR State Security which took the matter in its hands found at the described locality five rucksacks containing 20 Thompson submachine guns, 30 Walther pistols as well as ammunition. The investigation has been kept totally secret. Nevertheless, the central organ of the Bulgarian communists RABOTNICHESKO DELO published a detailed report on armaments "smuggled from the Federal Republic (of Germany) for the benefit of the counterrevolutionaries" on 22 July. The informant was the Bulgarian secret service collaborator of many years standing, Cestmir Amort, who for many years had denounced numerous scientists as revisionists to the Prague dogmatists.

Nevertheless, the action perpetrated by the KGB and its CSSR helpers has shown several faults in stage management. A witness declared under oath later that he had observed--one day before Pavelka received the letter--several trucks in the vicinity of the road bridge. Their occupants were Soviet officers staying in the CSSR for a Warsaw Pact "staff exercise." And another clumsiness: Two of the "Western" rucksacks were products of a CSSR factory.

A secret conference was held in the office of the CSSR State Security chief, Salgovic, at 1600 on 20 August. Its participants were leading KGB officers and their CSSR helpers. Final instructions were given. Three hours and forty minutes later a Soviet airplane, "Special Flight Moscow-Paris," requested the right to land in Prague because of a technical malfunction. The plane landed at 1946, taxied out of sight of the control tower and remained motionless for several minutes. Some 40 men in civilian suits left the plane and vanished among the bushes surrounding the airport. The airport employees suddenly faced men armed with submachine guns at 2234. Soviet agents occupied the airport within seconds, a radio message was sent to General Pawlowski's staff in Liegnitz. An air bridge between the Soviet military airports in Poland and the German Democratic Republic and Prague was created within minutes.

Wednesday, 21 August 1968, 0900. Approximately a dozen Czechoslovak STB officers met in the office of the Prague STB chief, Colonel Bohumil Molnar. Three KGB members were present. They drove to the Soviet Embassy where they were expected by General Kotov and Colonel Vinokurov. They proceeded further to the party leadership building. Dubcek, Smrkovsky and Kriegel were already detained there. Their task: To arrest the CSSR reformers officially. The Czech STB officer Hoffmann was allowed to utter the statement of arrest, previously formulated by the KGB officer Muchin.

Whenever there were arrests, provocation and planned misinformation in the following tragic months and years--the KGB had always been instrumental in them. It was the main tool that Moscow czars used in order to liquidate the Prague Spring.

CSO: 2300

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK MESSAGE TO GENEVA ANTIRACISM CONFERENCE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Aug 78 p 1 AU

[CSSR President Gustav Husak's message to the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, taking place in Geneva: "To Eradicate the Same of the Century; CSSR President G. Husak's Message of Greetings"]

[Text] CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a message of greetings to the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which opened in Geneva on Monday afternoon.

The message reads:

On behalf of the CSSR people and on my own behalf I cordially greet the participants in the World Conference on the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination. The decade of the struggle against racism and racial discrimination, which was solemnly proclaimed at the 27th UN General Assembly for the 1973-1983 period, has become a historic event and an important landmark in the long-term endeavor to implement the ideals of the UN Charter.

It is one of the missions of your representative assembly to redirect the attention of governments, governmental and non-governmental organizations and the entire world public to the shameful political anachronism of the present time--the vestiges of colonialism and racism in any form on our planet.

The system of apartheid, practiced by the Government of the Republic of South Africa, is undoubtedly one of the worst forms of racial discrimination, which has rightly been qualified as a crime against humanity. It is high time to put an end once and for all to these inhuman practices that are a stain on the face of the 20th century. It is a common task of all of us to stir mankind's conscience and to activate by all available means the international movement of solidarity with the valiant people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and other countries in their struggle against colonial oppression and racial discrimination, for freedom and complete independence.

The liquidation of the dangerous hotspot of an armed confrontation in southern Africa would contribute not only to the desirable improvement of the situation in this part of the African Continent but to strengthening the process of detente and to the consolidation of world peace.

The CSSR, actively together with other socialist countries in the implementation of the program of the decade of struggle against racism and racial discrimination, also unequivocally backed the initiative that 1978 become an international year of struggle against apartheid. We have anchored in our legislation effective guarantees of the inadmissibility of any racial discrimination and an absolute ban on the propaganda of racist theories.

We do not maintain any contacts with the racists regimes in southern Africa as a matter of principle. We consider the policy of apartheid to be a gross violation of basic human rights, a permanent threat to the free African nations and thus also a serious danger to international security.

The Czechoslovak people consistently support the just struggle of the oppressed nations against racism and its most repulsive manifestation--apartheid. They stand on the side of those who fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism in any part of the world.

The conference in which you are taking part should go down in history as a decisive step on the road toward eliminating all forms of racial discrimination on our planet. I wish you many successes in it.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMUNIQUE ON CUBAN FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO CSSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Aug 78 pp 1-2

[CTK text: "Communique on the Visit of the Cuban Minister"]

[Text] Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, paid an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, from 4 to 8 August.

The Cuban minister of foreign affairs was received by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, and by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal. Both meetings took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere.

Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli also visited Bratislava where Peter Colotka, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, familiarized him with the life of the working people of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The ministers of foreign affairs of the CSSR and the Republic of Cuba briefed each other on the fulfillment of the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and on the tasks of the two countries in the foreign policy sphere. They assessed the present state of bilateral relations and exchanged views on topical international questions.

The intensive cooperation between the CSSR and the Republic of Cuba is developing successfully on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism in all spheres and effectively contributes to strengthening the fraternal friendship between the two countries, to consolidating the socialist community, peace and social progress in the world.

The ministers stressed that the visit by Fidel Castro to the CSSR in June 1972 and Gustav Husak's visit to Cuba in April 1973 was of decisive significance for expanding mutual relations. Mutual cooperation, which is continuously developing, is of a high standard, is assuming new forms and actively contributes to realizing the programs of socialist construction adopted by the 15th CPCZ Congress and by the 1st Congress of the Communist

Party of Cuba. Both sides again confirmed their interest in expanding and intensifying many-sided fraternal cooperation and in the mutual coordination in the sphere of foreign policy.

The Czechoslovak side stated that under the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba the Cuban people have achieved significant successes in building the socialist society and in fulfilling the resolutions of the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and highly appreciated Cuba's active and principled foreign policy which contributes significantly to the cause of peace and to the struggle of nations for freedom and independence. Cuba's internationalist cooperation with Angola, Ethiopia and other African nations threatened by imperialism is becoming increasingly important in this context.

The Cuban side stressed the successes of the CSSR nationalities in realizing the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and in building an advanced socialist society and highly appreciated the CSSR's active international policy, working for detente and peace, the independence of nations and social progress.

Both sides again confirmed the decisive significance of the many-sided cooperation of the two countries with the Soviet Union, for both the CSSR and Cuba, and of the internationalist assistance and support the Soviet Union grants them in the economic sphere and in the defense of socialism.

The CSSR and Cuba, as CEMA member states, expressed the need to further intensify their cooperation with other member states of this organization in the interest of developing the international socialist division of labor and the need to implement the comprehensive program of socialist integration.

The ministers positively assessed the active foreign policy of the Communist Party and Government of the Soviet Union in carrying out the program of struggle for peace and international cooperation adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress. They declared at the same time that they fully support this program because it expresses the longings and interests of the people of both countries.

Both sides regard preserving peace and averting a nuclear war as the most urgent task under the present international conditions. They noted the great importance of the joint efforts of the socialist community to intensify international detente, to extend it to the military sphere and to make it a lasting and irreversible process. They expressed their satisfaction with the positive results of the CSCE and the necessity to implement the Helsinki Final Act in its full extent.

Both sides hold the view that in order to strengthen peace and security in the world it is of imperative importance to halt the feverish stepping up of armament, to avert the threat of the nuclear bomb and to achieve disarmament. This is why they welcomed the results of the UNGA Special Session on Disarmament which became a significant step on the road to convening a world conference on disarmament.

They also positively assessed the growing international role of the movement of nonaligned countries in the joint struggle against imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, zionism and the policy of apartheid and its efforts to achieve equal economic relations among all states.

Both ministers stressed the importance of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries that will take place in Havana in September 1979 and expressed their conviction that it will contribute to consolidating the movement, strengthening its unity and to solving important international problems.

The ministers assessed the situation in Latin America and arrived at the conclusion that on the Latin American continent forces are becoming stronger that fight the battle against imperialism, for the defense of national sovereignty, for consolidating the economic and political independence and for the self-determination and independence of nations still suffering from colonial oppression.

They resolutely condemned the mass terror and gross violations of human rights by the fascist regime in Chile.

Both sides called for a complete, immediate and unconditional termination of the economic blockade of Cuba and for the withdrawal of the United States from the Cuban territory of Guantanamo.

They agreed that observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, inviolability of borders and non-interference in the internal affairs of the African states in harmony with the provisions of the UN Charter and with the goals and decisions of the OAU, corresponds to the interests of detente and maintenance of peace in this area.

They resolutely condemn the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by the regimes of the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia and advocate the complete fulfillment of the respective UN resolutions. They expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and with their organizations (Patriotic Front, SWAPO, African National Congress) in their struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism and apartheid once and for all and for their freedom and independence.

They are in favor of eliminating the hotbeds of tension existing in some parts of the world. They support the Palestinian resistance movement and its leading organization, the PLO; demand the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories and the termination of their incessant acts of aggression. They are in favor of the Geneva peace conference which should be attended by all parties concerned in order to achieve a political solution to the situation in the Middle East.

The ministers of foreign affairs expressed their solidarity and full support for the efforts of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to develop good-neighborly relations and cooperation between the states of Southeast Asia, including the constructive Vietnamese proposals for a settlement of the Vietnamese-Cambodian relations. They resolutely condemn the attacks of the present Chinese leadership against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

At the same time they condemned the anti-socialist and militarist line of the present Chinese leadership which, in alliance with the forces of world reaction and the most reactionary regimes in Africa and Latin America, harms the interests of socialism and peace in the world and the interests of the Chinese people themselves.

The talks between the ministers of foreign affairs took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and showed full identity of views on all questions discussed.

In conclusion of the visit the ministers of foreign affairs signed an agreement between the CSSR government and the Government of the Republic of Cuba on visa-free travel and an agreement on cooperation between the foreign ministries of both countries.

Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, invited Bohuslav Chnoupek, the CSSR minister of foreign affairs, to pay a friendly visit to Cuba. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### WEEKLY 'TVORBA' SCORES RIGHTIST CAMPAIGN IN 1968

Prague CTK in English 1723 GMT 9 Aug 78 LD

[Text] Prague, 9 Aug, CETEKA--[word indistinct] thinking people need [word indistinct] of today that the 1968 counterrevolution was the work of the remnants of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which lost its political power and privileges in the socialist revolution, the weekly TVORBA said today.

As the program of the destruction of socialism was elaborated, on the basis of theoretical analyses and recommendations of Brzezinski and Co., in September 1963 in the subversive ideology workshop of the CIA, and sponsored by the "Free Europe Committee," the weekly said, pointing out that this program of subversion was to have been implemented in the socialist countries through a fifth column. [sentence as received]

Temporarily at least, it was to appear to be socialist, and even to undertake the task of "improving" socialism.

It was thus not by chance that the rightists invited Brzezinski to Prague in June 1968 to provide weapons for their propaganda arsenal.

In March 1968, the right waged in all Czechoslovak media of information a campaign against the bodies of power of the socialist state. "The driving force of this campaign was the right-wing group in Radio Czechoslovakia, including Weinart, Kyncl, Jezdinsky and Volny. The seditious attacks were to render doubtful February 1948 and the role of the Communist Party, to arouse an anti-Soviet mood, and to prepare ground for the final struggle for power."

TVORBA goes on to say that the pamphlet "2,000 Words," published by the rightists in June 1968, incited the liquidation of communists and the entire party. One month later, they published the "Message to the Population" shortly before the departure of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium for talks with the Soviet Communist Party Politburo at Cierna nad Tisou, threatening the members of the delegation with excommunication from the nation if they [words indistinct].

"The manipulated managed, themselves being managed by behind [word indistinct] forces of the "second [word indistinct]" with which they very soon found a common language. It was not by chance that they became the mouth-pieces of various Kriegels, [names indistinct] Literas and Spaceks who in turn became their fair-haired boys.

Are these people the standard [word indistinct] socialism with a human face. This term they invented was nothing but a cover of the counter-revolutionary process of [words indistinct] the take-over of power by the bourgeoisie, and the transition of Czechoslovakia to the side of the West and NATO," TVORBA says.

"When they and their dream failed at home, they left for Radio Free Europe to join the [words indistinct] reactionaries and the role of hirelings and traitors openly, without the masks they had worn in 1968.

"All the Jezdinskys, Volnys, Schulzes, Pachmans, Seluckys, Filips, Laubs, Pelikans, Liehms, Toseks, and Kusaks have settled down in the imperialist anti-communist information and propaganda apparatus.... The circles have closed. They actually left for the place from which they had started intellectually and ideologically," the weekly stresses.

"Most upright journalists have declared support for the April 1969 session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, and dissociated themselves from the traitors who had expelled themselves from the ranks of the journalists front... The main shortcomings, errors and incorrect reactionary trends were soon eliminated from the orientation of the contents and the political-ideological influence of the information media.... The organization of journalists is firm today, and the young blood has filled the places left by the false heroes of 'revival'," TVORBA concludes.

CSO: 2020

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CPCZ AIDE REVIEWS BOURGEOIS-SOCIALIST STRUGGLE FOR YOUNG MINDS

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Aug 78 p 3 LD

[Correspondent V. Andriyanov interview in Prague with Milan Matous, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPCZ Central Committee: "Front Without Truces"]

[Text] Milan Matous' book "Front Without Truces" was published recently in Prague. In it the author, a well-known Czechoslovak scientist and deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the CPCZ Central Committee, analyzes in detail the events of the late sixties, when "Czechoslovakia became a bridgehead and a testing ground for international anticommunism," and examines in depth the urgent problems of the struggle against ideological sabotage at the present stage. It was to this subject that our conversation was devoted.

[Question] What, in your view, Comrade Matous, characterizes ideological sabotage against the CSSR today?

[Answer] Hostile propaganda is seeking very diverse ways to penetrate our republic. Subversive radio broadcasts are directed toward Czechoslovakia around the clock from a dozen capitalist countries. Radio Free Europe's retransmitters stand on West German peaks like symbols of ill will, literally a few steps from our border. Emigree centers publish several journals in Czech and Slovak for illegal dissemination in the CSSR. They are printed in small type on very thin paper and are disguised beneath outwardly innocent covers. In just the same way tape cassettes with antisocialist texts are produced in the guise of popular melodies. Certain Western tourists bring such "gifts" with them.

Essentially, the entire system of mass news media is operating against us, against socialism. Its bosses endeavor to impress readers, listeners and viewers with freshness of information, operational efficiency and some apparently fundamentally new facts. But in reality one and the same thing is repeated: slander against the communist movement, against the Soviet Union and the socialist community, against the principles of socialism. At the same time, life in the West is painted in rosy hues.

It is not hard to be convinced of this. After the victory of the working people of Czechoslovakia over reaction in February 1948, people in the West began to assert that our "freedom and democracy had died." This was stated bluntly by the Czechoslovak emigree Jandacek in the book "Life Behind the 'Iron Curtain,'" published in Chicago. A few years later, in the early fifties, Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe began their subversive activities--under the false sign of "freedom"--and now the anticommunist centers are fussing about the rights and freedoms of which they say we are deprived in socialist society.

An old, wornout record. Attempts known since 1918 are essentially being repeated. Just as then, our class enemies are trying to substitute concepts--to present the bourgeoisie's deprivation of political power and the liquidation of the capitalist, private-ownership system as undermining human freedoms and restricting the rights and potential of the individual.

[Question] What place is allocated to youth in the plans for ideological sabotage?

[Answer] Our ideological enemies are trying their utmost to disorient young people. They take account of the fact that today's young generation will lead the socialist state tomorrow. Yielding to self-deception, bourgeois propagandists believe they will succeed in winning over to their side those who do not know capitalism from their own experience and who did not participate in the socialist revolution. They are gambling on the political inexperience of the young person.

Working youth occupies a special place in the cares of ideological saboteurs. They are endeavoring to prevent the shaping of class consciousness in the young working generation, depicting it as something inveterate which is "no longer worn," like an unfashionable jacket. They ridicule labor heroism and praise shirkers, idlers and criminals. Their hero is he who is cunning, who gets rich at other people's expense and who is distinguished by irresponsibility, cruelty and cynicism.

The approach to student youth is different. They tell them about the development of science and technology in the West and try to convince them that ideal opportunities are open to the educated person in capitalist countries to use his knowledge. Some young Czechs and Slovaks swallowed this cheap bait in 1968 and emigrated to the West.

I met one of these emigrees in Edinburgh not so long ago. At first he maintained that he had forgotten the Czech language--he wanted to turn our talk into a performance for his associates. But when the provocation failed and the onlookers lost interest, the "fellow countryman" quickly "remembered" his native tongue. In 1968 he was a third-year mathematicophysical student in Prague. He was sent on probation to Britain as a reward for successful studies. It was there, bombarded by anticommunist propaganda, that he decided to abandon his motherland. And to this day this student, who inspired great hopes, has not graduated from the institute and gets by on casual earnings.

Hundreds of thousands of graduates of higher educational institutions in Britain, the FRG and other capitalist countries end up in the same critical situation. The majority of them are unemployed. It is as though their years of study have been struck from their lives. This is how the "ideal conditions" created for the young intelligentsia in the West appear in practice.

Operating by the same standards, bourgeois propaganda endeavors to create in the young creative intelligentsia illusions about the unrestricted freedom of creativity in the West. Year after year those writers, artists and actors who are extolled, promoted and given prizes there. On the "star" conveyor belt good-for-nothing numskulls are blown up to the level of "world luminaries." The "luminaries" pay for their artificial glory with betrayal.

[Question] Under conditions in Czechoslovakia, which borders on the world of capitalism, the role of counterpropaganda is evidently particularly great. Could you share your thoughts on this score?

[Answer] The very best counterpropaganda is the truth about socialism. The best immunity against the influence of bourgeois ideology is class consciousness and the assimilation of a scientific world outlook.

People must understand the relationship between phenomena and understand what is happening around them. And this is impossible without critical thought. Naturally, not in the sense of petit bourgeois skepticism and arrogant aloofness. I speak of critical thought as the ability to evaluate reality realistically, to compare life yesterday and today, life in capitalist society and in our own, to see factors without which today's achievements would not exist and to ponder on society's prospects and on one's own obligations. To continue, I would also cite the ability to distinguish the truth from the dirty tricks of bourgeois propaganda. Independent critical thought evolves in the process of systematic political and ideological education.

It was precisely this way of thinking and this approach to people and affairs that many of our citizens lacked during the crisis months. For even then the face of opportunists and revisionists could be seen behind ringing phrases about "socialism with a human face." Over the 10 years since 1968 they have slid to the very bottom of class betrayal. Such fighters for "democratic socialism" as Mlynar, former secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, or J. Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television, are today attacking real socialism from the entrenchments of Radio Free Europe. Such defenders of so-called "creative Marxism" as O. Sik or E. Goldstuecker are writing anti-Marxist books and intimidating people with communism from chairs in bourgeois universities. And those who, like L. Pachman, J. Svitak and J. Popstefl, vowed patriotism and loyalty to the ideas of democracy are today acting in concert with West German revanchists and agitate in FRG elections for the archreactionary Strauss.

Inter alia, the events of the late sixties here helped many people to realize that the struggle of ideas concerns not only ideological establishments and specialists proper but also every citizen.

[Question] It is obvious that the struggle against petit bourgeois survivals and consumer tendencies, on which bourgeois propaganda also counts, is assuming ever-increasing significance.

[Answer] Revolutionary changes have occurred in public awareness over the years of socialist building. And yet petit bourgeois trends are still quite strong.

Bourgeois propaganda tries its utmost to support and strengthen the remnants of these trends. It exaggerates and absolutizes our particular shortcomings and tries to alarm the public with very diverse rumors and gossip. Either about monetary reform, or about goods or products which supposedly will disappear from sale any day now, or about something else. All these are empty fabrications. Comrade Gustav Husak derided them in his speech on 24 February at a mass rally of working people in Prague's old town square.

Criticism alone cannot extirpate bourgeois philistinism. The formation of a socialist attitude toward labor is of tremendous significance in the struggle against it. For in fighting bourgeois philistinism we are fighting for people, to make them builders of the new world.

I was born in a mountain village. The majority of my fellow villagers worked in the forest. He who coped best on the forest lot was considered the most authoritative among us. Work fed the family and gave it the minimum subsistence.

Today the situation is different. The very role of labor has changed. It has ceased to be a necessity without which starvation threatened. But now some people have begun to bring other values to the fore. A section of youth envies those who flaunt their father's motorcycle or car, fashionable clothes, a strange hairstyle and so forth.

Socialist political awareness and a socialist attitude toward labor are inseparable things. One is impossible without the other. And together they are the best means in the struggle against survivals of bourgeois philistinism.

[Question] In your works you write that our propaganda must be offensive. How do you understand this thesis?

[Answer] Let us remember the events of 1968 in the CSSR. It is perfectly clear that they were not accidental. Counterrevolution did not strike like a bolt from the blue. Imperialism had been carrying out intensive ideological sabotage against the CSSR for a number of years. The danger was growing. And, not meeting with energetic, effective opposition, it developed into counterrevolution.

The crisis of bourgeois ideology does not signify its automatic defeat. The more it is at odds with the times, the more feverishly it seeks new "theories" and the more refined become its anticommunist campaigns. The problems of the

ideological struggle, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, are now increasingly coming to the fore, and the truth about socialism is a powerful weapon in this struggle.

Being offensive means conveying the truth about socialism, explaining actively, energetically and convincingly the advantages of our system and repulsing hostile ideological sabotage in good time.

The whole world was once again convinced of the strength of our truth during the celebrations for the 60th anniversary of Great October and during the discussion of the draft new USSR Constitution. I recently read an editorial in a bourgeois U. S. weekly. Citing the article on the right to work in the new USSR Constitution, the author of the article asks whether anyone will believe in this right in New York's Negro ghettos. In his opinion, no one will believe in it. "I don't believe it either," he concludes. This admission says a great deal. The truth about the Soviet Union is so obvious and so strong that even the "country of unlimited opportunity" cannot ignore it. And, therefore, people try to distort and hush up this truth and to arouse mistrust in it.

Both Soviet and our own experience confirms that the simple truth about socialism acts strongest of all. Our achievements, the facts of socialist building, our prospects, the social confidence of our working people--this is the basis of our propaganda's offensiveness. Our strength lies in loyalty to internationalism and in internationalism in fact. This has been proved convincingly by Vladimir Remek's spaceflight with his Soviet comrades. "I am flying on Soviet wings," he said in a transmission while in orbit. Yes, only fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union has enabled our country of 15 million people to join the ranks of the space powers, overtaking many major states. Socialist international cooperation in space research is a symbol of universal significance. It shows how sharply our strength and potential are augmented and how our creative talent grows when we act together.

CSO: 1800

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CSSR JOURNALIST LAUDS CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S PROGRESS, HITS DETRACTORS

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 78 Morning Edition p 4 LD

[Article by Czechoslovak publicist Ivan Broz: "When the Masks Are Stripped Away"]

[Text] Prague--Present-day Czechoslovakia is rightly considered a firm part of the socialist community and of the international front of progressive anti-imperialist forces. It is participating actively in the implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different political systems and is at the same time waging a principled ideological battle against the heralds of imperialism and their minions, the enemies of peace and detente, and reactionaries of every stripe. Implementing the decisions of the 15th CPCZ Congress, the Czechoslovak people are building a developed socialist society and are confidently proving the advantages of socialism in all spheres of the country's life.

The working people of socialist Czechoslovakia rightfully take pride in the results they have achieved under the party's leadership over the three decades of building socialism. These results were vividly described by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR, in his speech devoted to the 30th anniversary of victorious February:

"We can, with every right, declare that never in the past have our people lived so happily and under conditions of such material prosperity and social confidence as they do in today's socialist society....

"The 30 years of building a new life have shown that the socialist state--an instrument of genuine sovereignty of the people--is a tremendous gain for our working people. In the interests of the people and with their direct participation, the socialist state is fulfilling very important tasks in economic and cultural building and in the matter of defending the socialist system."

Of course, all these successes are being deliberately ignored and, even more frequently, denigrated by bourgeois propaganda. With rabid malice the ideological-subversive centers of the Czechoslovak emigree "political elite," consisting of enemies of socialism who left their country in 1948 as well as the so-called "people of the Prague spring" of 1968 who have joined their voices

with them, rise up in arms against the real achievements of our people. Both groups of emigres have found a common target for their malicious criticism--the 10-year period which the CSSR has lived through since the grim crisis ordeals caused by rightwing forces and those who skillfully directed their actions from abroad and who encouraged, won over, and egged on the Czechoslovak counterrevolutionaries in the hope that Czechoslovakia would return to the Western camp, having repented of its "communist delusions" of the past.

What was our society like in 1968? Chaos and disintegration, fierce attacks against the CPCZ and the socialist system and against the reliable friend of the Czechs and Slovaks--the Soviet Union--and perplexity on the part of many people who did not understand what was happening to the republic.... And today? Suffice it to say that thanks to the internationalist assistance that came just in time from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the working class headed by the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the CPCZ has a firm grasp on the helm of events. The CSSR's successes in the political, economic, cultural, social and international fields are the best answer to the question about the present-day situation in the country. These successes prove convincingly that our ship is holding to the correct course.

Of course, such a turn of events is not to the liking of those who, 10 years ago, lost at their own game. Reluctant to reconcile themselves to defeat, they are opposing the inexorable facts with the demagogy of nihilism and dirty fabrications and are slandering everyone and everything in their former motherland. It is significant that their bosses, the directors of the present anti-Czechoslovak campaign, are not so naive as to be blind to the fact that the authority of failed politicians like Sik, Mlynar, Pelikan, Goldstuecker and Loebl is nil among the Czechoslovak people and that it is a long time since anyone here has paid any attention to their malicious attacks.

However, a card which has been trumped in one game can be suitable for playing in another. The organizers of the 1968 "Prague spring" are readily harnessing renegades and turncoats to the chariot of their false propaganda in an attempt to divert the attention of the working people of the West from the real problems of capitalist society.

It is a paradox, is it not? Yesterday's "communists" and "fighters for socialism" are today gratefully pecking crumbs from the hands of their bourgeois providers. When a Russian manufacturer or landowner fled to the West to escape the revolutionary storm of October, there was nothing surprising in that. The same happened with the Czech or Slovak bourgeoisie which was unable to reconcile itself to socialism and rushed in panic to its capitalist kinsfolk after February 1948. However, how is the situation to be understood when a person who considers himself to be a communist flees from communists and seeks the protection of the worst enemies of the new system? There can be only one answer: People who, without any pangs of conscience, changed their class convictions and sympathies when they crossed the border could never have been, and were not, real communists. These people were never

real patriots and, still less, honest politicians of their country if they left it during the days of difficulties which, moreover, they themselves had engendered.

And today, in August 1978, such people are daring to try to lay down the law to others, expatiating about what real socialism is and what it is not! Striving to outbawl the most clamorous bawlers of bourgeois propaganda, they are trying to instill in the working people of the West a false idea to the effect that scientific socialism is not capable of solving social and political problems....

There is one thing about the emigres that can in no way be denied. Just now, 10 years later, once in a while the odd word of truth slips into their nostalgic recollections of what they were actually striving and struggling for. In early August this year Vienna television, for instance, broadcast a great "gala program" devoted to the events of the past. Some of the fiercest opponents of present-day Czechoslovakia from the "last emigration" participated in it. It became apparent from what Mlynar said in front of the television camera that an attempt was made in 1968 to combine the incompatible: socialism and the bourgeois system. This in fact meant a return to capitalism.

A week ago Pelikan, former director general of Czechoslovak television, who was another "activist" of the anti-Czechoslovak campaign and who lays claim to a prominent place among the 1968 emigration, made an even more candid pronouncement in a "Czech" broadcast by the London BBC: "... The aim was not just to replace the party apparatus but to replace the entire political regime."

Taking the bit between their teeth, the emigree politicians are, as it were, competing with each other in stripping away the masks from their formerly heavily disguised convictions. Sik, who now lives in Switzerland, scored one of the most effective points against himself in the Vienna television program mentioned above. Seeking to astound the television viewers, he divulged to them his recollections about how he had, he said, prophetically foretold the economic collapse of Czechoslovakia.

Despite the "firm" conviction of the "scholar" Sik, his forecast has by no means been confirmed. It is obvious that this man is totally unfamiliar with present-day life in Czechoslovakia, although Switzerland is not so far away from us. Without the assistance of Mr Sik, or to be more accurate, in defiance of his doctrines, the material base of socialism in the CSSR is growing stronger, the standard of living of the working people is rising, industry is gaining momentum, and the farmers are achieving grain yields of 40 quintals per hectare. Czechoslovakia can take pride in a more rapid and confident growth of national income than many developed capitalist states. Emigres, blinded by hatred for their own land and their own people, are shutting their eyes to these successes, just as they also shut their eyes to the fact that each citizen in their former homeland is guaranteed all the basic civil rights

and freedoms and that no one in the CSSR has any fear of unemployment, inflation and other sinister phenomena of the Western way of life.

The Siks, Goldstueckers, Mlynars, Pelikans and their ilk must have to stuff their ears with cotton when they hear over the radio that the CSSR--in their opinion a country which stands in isolation--has been elected by a majority of votes at the UN General Assembly session to membership in an important organ, the Security Council. These people most likely turn off their televisions when they see with what thoroughness top representatives of the FRG are conducting talks in Bonn with Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the CSSR. Bile chokes them when they are forced to observe how socialist Czechoslovakia is capturing more and more international positions through its successes in social policy, culture, science and education....

The Czechoslovak people, with pride and joy, listened attentively to the words of greeting uttered by L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, during his recent visit to the CSSR:

"Czechoslovakia today means a powerful economy which is developing in a planned manner; it means advanced science and culture; it means a high level of public well-being; it means very broad opportunities for the development of the individual and the active participation of millions of citizens in running state and public affairs. Behind all this stands the transforming and guiding activity of the Communist Party and the great, dogged work of the working class, peasantry and people's intelligentsia."

These words of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, a great friend of the Czechoslovak people, convincingly and vividly assess the road traveled by our people over the last 10 years.

CSO: 1800

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

**ARTISAN STABILIZATION TREND**---According to the most recent edition of *STATISTISCHES JAHRBUCH* [1978], the number of private artisans in the GDR decreased only slightly--by 225 to 85,111--during 1977, following a decline in preceding years which regularly amounted to 5,000-6,000 annually. The downward trend in the number of persons employed in the private crafts sector has also slackened; at the end of 1977, this number was 251,426, scarcely 9,000 less than in 1976. Nevertheless, the output of private artisans during the report year (1977) increased by M240 million to approximately M8.7 billion. The relative stabilization in the crafts sector is an expression of a changed policy on the part of the SED, according to which, in view of the considerable bottlenecks in connection with repairs and services, trade licenses are being issued to an increasing extent to private artisans. Of course, the increase in mostly younger master craftsmen could not in every case compensate for the number of business closings due to retirement. Thus, the number of service enterprises again decreased by almost 300 to a total of 9,887. On the other hand, comparatively large manpower increases are recorded in automobile mechanics work (an increase of 457 to a total of 5,706) and in the building trades (an increase of 613 to a total of 12,177). [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 161, 21 Aug 78 p 1]

**DECREASE IN CRIME RATE**---For the first time since 1972 the GDR has published detailed statistics on the development of criminality. According to the most recent edition of *STATISTISCHES JAHRBUCH* [1978], in 1977 a total of 116,170 criminal offenses involved legal proceedings, compared with 124,678 in 1976 and 117,994 in 1975. For the period from 1970 to 1974 an annual average of 126,961 criminal offenses was reported. In 1977, with regard to the GDR population as a whole, 693 criminal offenses per 100,000 inhabitants were recorded. The highest crime rate was in East Berlin, with 873 cases per 100,000 inhabitants, followed by the GDR bezirks: Rostock (794); Frankfurt/Oder (783); and Neubrandenburg (762). It is noticeable that, according to the East Berlin statistics, there is generally less crime in the southern bezirks than in the north. Dresden Bezirk has the lowest crime rate, with 481 criminal offenses per 100,000 inhabitants. Contrary to the overall lower total number of criminal offenses in 1977, the *STATISTISCHES JAHRBUCH* records an increase in acts of violence. Thus, the number of murders and homicides increased from 122 in 1976 to 129 in 1977. Also, the incidence of robbery and extortion increased by almost 25 percent from 476 cases in 1976 to 602 cases in 1977. [Excerpts] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 159/160, 17/18 Aug 78 pp 1-2]

POLAND

#### MILITARY COMMENTATOR VIEWS LATEST MBFR DEVELOPMENTS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 18 Jul 78 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "The Vienna Negotiations--End of Round 15"]

[Text] We do not write too often about the negotiations in Vienna concerning the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Not, however, because of a lack of interest in this unusually important subject, but because of the repetition of both substantive proposals and accompanying argumentation, which are the objects of deliberation of this conference, which has been going on for five years (since October 1973).

However, in the course of the present Round 15 of the negotiations, certain possibilities for a breaking of the deadlock were outlined. The Western countries on 19 April and the socialist states on 8 June presented modified proposals on the matter of troop reductions.

The Warsaw Pact states recognized that, although the Western proposals contained certain positive elements, they were not sufficient. Attempting to lead the talks out of a blind alley, they presented compromise proposals establishing, among other things, equal ceilings of 900,000 on the number of troops of each side (700,000 of which would be land forces) as the goal of the process of reduction. At the same time, they accepted a proposal for carrying out a selective arms reduction in the first phase; concrete numbers of Soviet and American troops which are to be withdrawn in this phase were mentioned. The Soviet Union on its part is ready to withdraw during the course of a year, as L. Brezhnev announced on 25 June this year in a speech delivered in Minsk on the occasion of the liberation of Byelorussia, three divisions, together with the appropriate military equipment and about one thousand tanks.

It is proposed that the reduction of armed forces of the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries be carried out in such a way as to maintain their balance. "The socialist countries," said Brezhnev in the above-mentioned appearance, "propose to their partners a sensible, realistic compromise. In submitting their proposals they have gone even more than half way. We turn to the NATO countries: let us at last get down to work!"

The Western side recognized that the latest proposals of the socialist states were actually in large measure a concession to the position of the NATO states. "Something happened," wrote a commentator for a weekly as inimical to us as DER SPIEGEL, "for which nobody had any hope: the head of the Soviet delegation, Nikolai Tarasov, agreed in large measure with the contents of the proposal NATO submitted on 19 April of this year."

Nonetheless, the position of the NATO states has not been finally formulated as yet. In Vienna various aspects of the new project were clarified and, simultaneously, discussions continued on the subject of data on the numerical strength of armed forces, which continue to stand as a fundamental obstacle on the road to understanding.

Representatives of the Warsaw Pact waited in Vienna for responses to their latest proposals. They had been submitted a month earlier and the Western delegations had had enough time to position themselves substantively toward them. A positive reaction would have been very important in light of the present international situation, which is not very promising for the development of detente.

The current round of talks ended on 18 July, after which began a vacation break of some length. It should be assumed that only governmental and inter-governmental consultations will in all probability cause the West, at the beginning of the next, autumn round already, to take some sort of precise stand: either "Yes" or "No." If it is "no," the negotiations may be plunged again into arduous and futile discussions.

The reasons for the exceptional snail's pace advancement of the Vienna negotiations should not be sought only in the purely military sphere or in a variety of notions concerning each side's military potential, since the relations between the NATO countries and the camp of socialist states are not confined to such formulas as "potential," "threat," or "defense."

In order for it to be possible to reach such military solutions as a reduction of armed forces on the scale of two opposing groups of states, relations between them must be saturated with a whole mass of peaceful elements. Economic, scientific, cultural and interhuman contacts must be developed and a definite liberalization of mutual relations, founded on real understanding, must ensue.

A purely military policy--such as the NATO states are conducting--which does not take into account the cultural, social and moral questions of coexistence, is a policy without a compass. In pursuing such a policy it is impossible to understand, much less, explain where failures come from in matters on which there should be absolute unanimity.

From the beginning it has been known that in disarmament talks there can be no question whatsoever of a sudden, crucial, or revolutionary outcome. So it is when one undertakes to settle matters in which even antiquated traditions and widely-accepted habits are difficult to overcome. Still, it cannot be

denied that it is better to talk, even forever, than to wage war for a short while.

For, as Svejk said, even at times when only pots of putrid things were thrown over the walls of a beleaguered city, waging war was not classed among the singular pleasures.

9309-R

CSO: 2600

# TEACHERS SURVEYED ON DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS OF PUPILS

Warsaw NOWA SZKOLA in Polish No 3 Mar 78 pp 19-22

[Article by Boguslaw Adamczyk, Higher Pedagogical School, Kielce]

[Text] Within the scope of complex research on the social maladjustment of children and youth in Kielce, research which was initiated in 1976 by scholars and students organized into the Scholastic Association of Educators at the Higher Pedagogical School in Kielce<sup>1</sup> and which enlisted the cooperation of the educational institutions in the Kielce district, some sample studies were made in the beginning of 1977.<sup>2</sup> The object of these studies was to identify the extent, the symptoms and the causes of educational problems in teaching primary, elementary, and secondary school children in Kielce, as seen by educators, pedagogical counsellors and school administrators. The partial diagnosis arrived at supplements larger-scale studies and contributes to a more nearly correct answer to the fundamental question: What educational activities of preventative and resocializing nature are indispensable for optimizing the broadly understood teaching of problem pupils? At the same time, these studies indirectly confirm, to some extent, the appropriateness of the "Preventative and Resocializing Activities for Children and Youth in the City of Kielce" program outlined in 1975 by the Department of Education at Kielce City Hall.

The fundamental technique employed in these studies was to use characterizations of problem pupils and school reports which had been prepared on the basis of a uniform model according to definite categories of symptoms and causes of educational problems. The premises of these studies had been thoroughly discussed by the council of school administrators set up by the Department of Education and Upbringing. Models of characterizations and report tables had been additionally sent out to schools. These characterizations and reports were to be based on documentation by each school in accordance with the said "program." Prior to their submission, these data had been discussed with homeroom teachers and educator teams. The gathered data were subsequently categorized and evaluated in terms of percentage indicators. The results were finally submitted to the school authorities in the form of a report.

The study sample included 23 (all) elementary schools with 17,648 pupils, 6 (all) general education secondary schools with 4,381 pupils, and 17 elementary and secondary vocational schools with 12,831 pupils. It thus included altogether 46 schools with 34,863 pupils. For lack of material, only a few smaller adjunct schools were left out. One may, therefore, regard this as providing an almost complete background of the phenomenon under consideration, from the vantage point of the Kielce teaching staff at the end of the 1976-77 school semester.

According to this study, there were then in Kielce 561 (1.6 percent) pupils with educational problems, namely: 355 (2.1 percent) in elementary schools, 25 (0.57 percent) in academic high schools, and 181 (1.4 percent) in vocational schools. The percentage in individual schools fluctuated from 0 to 6.92 percent. One may conclude that either individual schools differed widely in terms of pupil behavior and learning activity, or not the same criteria were used by all schools in evaluating the condition. Probably both factors affected the results.

The information provided by the schools about the numbers of problem pupils was compared with that pertaining to the number of delinquents from the Kielce district detained by the Citizens' Militia's Juvenile Detention Chamber. As it turned out, the schools had no knowledge at all about 175 (78.13 percent) detainees. Even considering the fact that in any resocializing activity there may occur cases about which should not be informed, to ensure the child's welfare and proper legal proceedings, such a high index suggests ignorance on the part of schools about their pupils and, at the same time, indicates a need for closer cooperation between both institutions. The need for such a cooperation has, to be sure, been indicated in the memorandum sent to schools, educational authorities, and officers of of voivodship Citizen's Militias.<sup>3</sup>

The typology of educational problems was constructed on the basis of the "symptoms of educational problems" concept according to J. Konopnicki.<sup>4</sup> An attempt was also made to establish their frequency of occurrence and their causes suggested by the schools. Following are the kinds, percentage indicators, and ranking of major educational problems characterizing the pupils of the study sample, in general and in elementary schools in particular.

Table 1

Kind of Problem	Generally		In Elementary Schools	
	percent	ranking	percent	ranking
1	2	3	4	5
School truancy	62.37	I	92.24	I
Disobeying instructions	53.99	II	66.47	II
Lying	47.05	III	54.63	III

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Kind of Problem	Generally		In Elementary Schools	
	percent	ranking	percent	ranking
1	2	3	4	5
Cigarette smoking	34.21	IV	36.04	IV
Aggressive behavior as, e.g., beating up classmates	21.19	V	28.43	V
Home truancy	20.13	VI	20.27	VI
Alcohol drinking	13.71	VII	12.95	VII
Appropriation of objects or money without consent	13.55	VIII	11.56	IX
Running away from home	6.58	IX	8.06	XI
Destruction of public property	5.87	X	8.72	X
"Other life"	5.00	XI	12.39	VIII

According to these figures, the most frequently occurring symptoms of educational problems are: school truancy, disobeying instructions, lying, cigarette smoking, aggressive behavior and home truancy. In reality these symptoms occur most often together, i.e., school truancy is accompanied by lying and learning difficulties, which often end in repeating the class. On the whole, 161 (27.1 percent) among the 561 in this study sample have repeated some class in the course of their school career, 87 (15.5 percent) have repeated twice, and 26 (4.6 percent) have repeated three or more times.

For a correct diagnosis and a proper projection of resocializing activity it is important to analyze the relation between the age of pupils and their symptoms. With regard to the age span essential to this study, only elementary school pupils were considered in the evaluation of the phenomenon. For a clearer comprehension of the data, three most prominently occurring problems were considered in the analysis.

Table 2

## Age

9	Disobeying instructions (2.81%)	Lying (2.81%)	Aggressive behavior (2.25%)
10-12	Disobeying instructions (15.49%)	School truancy (11.83%)	Lying (9.01%)
13-15	Disobeying instructions (34.64%)	School truancy (32.14%)	Lying (30.75%)
16	School truancy (15.21%)	Lying (12.10%)	Cigarette smoking (11.26%)

Disobeying instructions ranked highest in the first three age groups, school truancy ranked highest in the age group from 16 years up. Lying and school truancy ranked second. Aggressive behavior ranked third in the youngest age group, followed by lying and cigarette smoking. These educational problems should be paid attention to by educator teams in their activities at the pedagogical counselling level. This entire problem should, it seems, be taken up on a broader scale by the NURT [continuing education for teachers] programs.

From the standpoint of correct diagnosis and, especially, for the purpose of providing preventative and resocializing activities, it is essential to acknowledge the opinions of teachers and school administrators about the causes of these problems. The following list has been based on a rank sequence with respect to the frequency of occurrence of certain problem symptoms. All percentages will not add up to 100 percent, because individual symptoms may have more than one cause.

The causes of school truancy, which ranks highest, are found in: 1) the family 43.13 percent, 2) the child's own personality 34.58 percent, 3) the peer environment 28.87 percent, and 4) the school only 2.13 percent. Among causes of disobeying instructions, which ranks second, teachers have indicated: 1) the family 39.21 percent, 2) the child's own personality 31.90 percent, 3) the peer environment 24.06 percent, and 4) the school 2.34 percent.

As causes of educational problems teachers have ranked highest the family, second highest the pupil and his personality and third highest the peer environment. The schools were in all cases ranked far behind in the fourth place. Certainly closest to the truth were those teacher-educators who had recognized in the pupil characteristics an interplay of causes and who had found great difficulty in singling out the one most significant cause. There emerges here, however, a rather uncritical attitude of teachers toward the school and their underestimation of negative influences of an improper peer environment.

The question, "How is it in reality?" can only be answered after additional studies have been made.

This sample study has revealed the extent and the most typical symptoms as well as the main causes of educational problems. The picture thus revealed, as seen by teachers, is not complete. It does, however, serve as a guide for a proper directing of educational activities in schools and other institutions as well as for further research.

The activity of teachers' professional guidance offices and the training of teachers under the auspices of pedagogical councils including parents of pupils in the Polish Scout Union must be concerned with the following aspects of the problem: giving instructions and ensuring their being obeyed; school and home truancy; cigarette smoking; lying; appropriation of objects or money without consent; and drinking alcohol.

From these studies emerges a real need for closer cooperation between educational institutions. The main aspects of this cooperation should be:

--sharing of information between schools and Citizens' Militia units (except if it were to conflict with proper legal proceedings) about all symptoms of pupils' social maladjustment;

--joint activities by pupils and the district's Citizens' Militia units within the scope of child and youth protection;

--setting up and organizing coordinated preventative and resocializing activities in the place of residence. As a basis could serve here the "tasks of the National Unity Front committees and a citizens' self-rule committee with regard to activity concerning prevention of individual unsocial behavior," issued by the Secretariat of the All-Polish Committee of the National Unity Front in April 1971.

This sample study also indicates where further research should be directed. Particular attention must be paid to conditions which foster the most frequently occurring symptoms of educational problems, mainly in the family environment. This research should concentrate on a qualitative analysis of the phenomenon.

The preceding comments apply basically to the Kielce environment. With a great deal of confidence, however, one could probably extend them to any other environment with similar social characteristics.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Program of joint research on social maladjustment of children and youth in Kielce, for the years 1977-1979.
2. The following members of the Kielce Higher Pedagogical School Scholastic Association of Educators participated in the research conducted under the direction of the author.
3. Paper dated 30 April 1969 sent to the rectors of higher schools, voivodship Citizens' Militia commanders, and school district superintendents.
4. Konopnicki, J., Disturbances in the Behavior of School Children and the Environment, PWN (State Publishing House), Warsaw 1957.

2415

CSO: 2600

## ROMANIA

### AMENDED LAW ON MILITARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 31 Jul 78 pp 1-4

[Law No 33/1968 on Training of Youth for National Defense. Republication on the basis of Article 2 of Council of State Decree No 246 dated 10 July 1978 published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part 1 No 59, dated 13 July 1978, giving the articles new numeration. Law No 33/1968 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 149, 15 November 1968]

[Text] Defense of the homeland and the revolutionary gains of the working people is the supreme duty of all citizens of the Romanian Socialist Republic.

Given the existence of imperialism--a persistent danger to the peace and security of nations--strengthening the country's defense capability and undertaking every measure necessary to adequately rebuff the aggressive designs of international reaction constitute a prime task of our socialist state.

Considering the reduced term of obligatory military service, in order to ensure organized forms of training youth to defend the homeland and master military, technical and sanitation knowledge and skills, in order to instill in youth a spirit of discipline and order, of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, of sacrifice in the defense of the national independence and sovereignty and the cause of socialism and peace, The Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

#### Chapter 1

#### General Provisions

#### Article 1

The Romanian Socialist Republic organizes activities for training youth to defend the homeland, and young men and women who are citizens of the Romanian Socialist Republic have the patriotic duty to participate.

## Article 2

Activities of training youth to defend the homeland comprise general military instruction, familiarization with weapons of mass destruction and protection against them, civil defense, training in hygiene and first aid and specialty training in the framework of technical and applied activities.

## Article 3

Youth training activities for the defense of the homeland are supervised by the Communist Youth Union and the Pioneer Organization with the support of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Health, the General Staff of Patriotic Guards of the [Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party] CC--RCP, the Committee for Problems of People's Councils, the National Council for Physical Education and Sports, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and other central state and social organs.

## Article 4

To coordinate the activities of all state and social bodies involved in training youth to defend the homeland, a Central Command for the Training of Youth to defend the homeland is established in the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union, as well as local commands for the training of youth to defend the homeland in county, municipal, town and communal committees of the Communist Youth Union as well as those in Bucharest and its districts.

The commands are made up of representatives of the Communist Youth Union and the Pioneer Organization as well as ministries and other central and local bodies involved in training youth to defend the homeland.

Local commands for the training of youth to defend the homeland are subordinate to local defense councils.

## Chapter 2

### Organization of Activities of Training Youth To Defend the Homeland

## Article 5

Activities of training youth to defend the homeland encompass pupils from grade 5 through the entire schooling period, pupils in trade schools apprentices and young people working in economic units and institutes up to the age of 20.

Activities of training youth to defend the homeland are organized in cycles of instruction and are conducted on the basis of joint instruction or, as the case may be, separate instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union, the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education and Instruction and the General Staff of Patriotic Guards of the CC--RCP. The program of pupil training is included in the school activities schedule; training of other young people is conducted outside work hours.

#### Article 6

Beginning in the first year of secondary school, youths involved in formations to train for defense of the homeland are to give the following oath in a solemn ceremony:

"I, \_\_\_\_\_, a young citizen of the Romanian Socialist Republic, entering formations to train youth to defend the homeland, do swear unswerving faith to the socialist party, people and homeland.

"I swear to train myself seriously for work and life, for the defense of the homeland, and to respond to the call of the RCP and to the orders of the supreme commander with all my youthful vigor and enthusiasm, sparing neither my blood nor my life, to defend the revolutionary gains of the nation and the integrity, independence and sovereignty of my dear homeland, the Romanian Socialist Republic."

#### Article 7

Youths who have completed military service may continue training in technical and applied study circles.

#### Article 8

Training of youth to defend the homeland is conducted in training centers organized within enterprises, institutions, economic organizations, schools and communes, or in groups of enterprises, institutions and economic organizations. Within the training centers, youths are organized into detachments and groups.

The number of training centers and of detachments and groups is to be approved by country defense councils and the Bucharest City Defense Council.

Youth training is also conducted in technical and applied study circles organized within organizations of the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Interior, patriotic guards, enterprises, institutions, schools, sports clubs and associations, and in camps of various activity profiles.

## Article 9

Training centers and detachments are commanded by reserve officers, military experts and noncommissioned officers, including those of the patriotic guards, training commanders and Communist Youth Union instructors, chosen from among personnel of the socialist organizations, general schools and secondary schools within which the training center operates; in the communes, commanders are chosen from among the teaching personnel or socialist organization personnel.

In schools and secondary schools, group commanders are chosen from among pupils who get good grades in training for defense of the homeland; in enterprises and institutions, from among reserve noncommissioned officers and soldiers, as well as youths who get good grades in training for defense of the homeland.

In cases where a sufficient number of detachment commanders cannot be provided from among teaching personnel for the military training of pupils, commanders may be selected from among technical-administrative personnel who have completed military service and from the economic organizations which sponsor the particular school.

Center commanders are appointed by decision of the county defense council and the Bucharest City Council, while detachment commanders are appointed by the defense councils of cities, towns, Bucharest City districts and communes. The services of the commanders are to be voluntary, without military obligations.

Training center and detachment commanders are to convene annually for a brief period of time for regular training. The training is provided by the Ministry of National Defense.

## Article 10

Technical and applied study circles organized within military units are conducted by active officers, military experts, noncommissioned officers and by teaching cadres.

## Article 11

The Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union and the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, in collaboration with the Ministry of National Defense, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Education and Instruction and other central bodies are to organize, during school vacations, training camps for pupils selected to be group commanders, also camps specializing in aviation, naval activities, modeling, go-carting and others.

These camps are to be organized and are to function in accordance with legal norms governing school and sports training camps, making use of boarding school and hostel facilities of educational institutions free of charge.

The costs of their organization and functions are to be included in and supported by the budget of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union and the National Council of the Pioneer Organization.

#### Article 12

For participation in practical training activities for defense of the homeland, which require physical exertion, youths are to report in advance for medical examination in the medical offices of enterprises, institutions, economic organizations and schools or medical districts. The examination is to consist of a general clinical examination to determine that the youth is fit to participate in these activities.

### Chapter 3

#### Rights and Duties

#### Article 13

Youths who get good grades in training for defense of the homeland will receive diplomas, badges and other awards. Those who attend technical-applied study circles engaged in both flight and nonflight parachute jumping will be given diplomas and certificates. Youths (boys) who are outstanding in training are given preference for acceptance to military secondary schools, active duty officer training schools, military expert and noncommissioned officer schools, also in choosing the branch of service, in accordance with the requirements and possibilities of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior.

#### Article 14

Youths have the duty to participate regularly in the training program for defense of the homeland, to master military, technical and hygiene knowledge and skills, to respect discipline and order and to handle responsibly all weapons and materiel entrusted to them.

During training, youths are to wear berets and, optionally, military blouses and uniforms; commanders are to wear the specified uniform.

#### Article 15

During regular training, training center and detachment commanders are to receive from the institutions and enterprises of which they are a part the rights that are due to them in accordance with legal provisions applicable to worker personnel engaged in service-related duties.

#### Article 16

Reserve officers, military experts, noncommissioned officers and soldiers who are active in training centers have preference for advancement in grade, and those with special merit may be advanced in grade without carrying out concentrations as stipulated by regulations in force.

#### Chapter 4

Functions of State Organs With Regard to Activities of Training Youth for Defense of the Homeland

#### Article 17

The Ministry of National Defense supplies weapons, essential support materiel, ammunition, compasses, gas masks, regulations [regulamente], programs and other instructional material necessary to train youth for defense of the homeland. Compressed-air weapons and shot are supplied by the National Council of the Pioneer Organization.

#### Article 18

Weapons to be used to train youths for defending the homeland, support materiel, shot, small-caliber ammunition, fire control devices, compasses, gas masks and other instructional materiel are to be placed in the custody and use of the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior, which are the organizations within which the training centers function.

Such materiel is to be used, handled and safeguarded in accordance with technical norms stipulated by the Ministry of National Defense.

In cases where the educational institution does not have a guard service, such materiel is to be kept, as circumstances require, in the economic organizations which sponsor them, together with the weapons of patriotic guards; in the case of communes, in police facilities.

The receiving bodies are to protect the weapons in facilities set up for that purpose, as well as the necessary guard service. Executive bureaus of people's commune councils are to support the provision and administration of appropriate facilities.

#### Article 19

The use of areas of land allotted to training activities by centers training youths for defense of the homeland is to be free of charge.

## Article 20

The necessary costs of building testing grounds and laying out obstacle courses, also materials for firing instruction, health and first aid training, costs involved in transporting youths, weapons and ammunition to the firing ranges and training fields and costs of uniforms for center and detachment commanders, are borne by the income and expenditure budgets of socialist organizations, as follows:

--budgetary institutions, from savings in budgetary credits approved through their income and expenditure budgets, with the exception of those earmarked for distribution and contributions to state social security, investments from state funds, capital repairs and also amounts placed at the disposition of budgetary reserve funds or other funds whose allocation is stipulated by legal provisions;

--state economic organizations, directly from financial results.

The Ministry of Education and Instruction, as well as other central ministries and organs and people's councils of counties and the City of Bucharest, are to bear these costs for educational institutions subordinate to them.

Cooperative and social organizations use their own funds to meet the costs mentioned in paragraph 1, also the rights stipulated in Article 15. In the communes, materials for sanitation and first aid training are provided by the sanitation directorates of the counties or the City of Bucharest.

## Article 21

Executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils, police authorities, socialist organizations and educational institutions are to support organs of the Communist Youth Union, the Pioneer Organization and military organizations in drawing up lists of names of youths who are to participate in training for defense of the homeland.

## Article 22

Supplying of training centers with manuals, brochures, books and other such materiel is provided by the Ministry of National Defense.

## Article 23

The Ministry of Machine Building Industry is to make small-caliber weapons and compressed-air weapons as well as ammunition for them, also compasses and other items, under conditions established jointly by the Ministry of National Defense and the National Council of the Pioneer Organization.

#### Article 24

The Ministry of Light Industry is to organize the production of berets and uniforms. These are to be made available through the commercial retail network.

#### Article 25

The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance are to provide the means necessary to accomplish the tasks arising from the present law annually through the technical-material supply plans and the income and expenditure budgets of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union, the National Council of the Pioneer Organization, the Ministry of Education and Instruction and other ministries.

#### Chapter 5

#### Conditional and Final Provisions

#### Article 26

The organization of training centers, technical and applied study circles and camps, the contents of the programs, the movement of weapons and ammunition, medical assistance, the singling out of youths and other problems deriving from application of the provisions of the present law, are stipulated through directives and regulations handed down by the central organs concerned.

9078

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

AMENDED DECREE ON MILITARY OFFICER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 69, 31 Jul 78 pp 4-5

[Council of State Decree No 1037/1968 on the Organization and Functions of Military Instruction Institutions for Officer Training. Republication on the basis of Article 3 of Council of State Decree No 233 dated 7 July 1978 published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA, Part 1 No 53, dated 7 July 1978, giving the articles new numeration. Decree No 1037/1968 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 55, 16 May 1972]

[Text] The Council of State of the Romanian Socialist Republic Hereby Decrees:

Article 1

The training of officers for military service is provided in active duty military officers schools, study courses to train active officers, reserve military officers schools and the Military Academy, in attended courses.

Active officers military schools are military instruction institutions with a training level equivalent to that of civilian instruction institutions of similar duration.

Military schools training active officers and those training reserve officers are listed in Annex No 1.

Study courses to train active officers are established and organized, as circumstances require, by order of the Ministry of National Defense.

Training of reserve officers in specialties for which reserve officer schools cannot be organized is provided within active officers military schools or within other organizations specified by the Ministry of National Defense.

The Military Academy is an institute of higher education which trains officers in higher military studies and commissioned engineers and junior engineers, in departments (sections) and specialties listed in Annex No 2.

## Article 2

The term of instruction in active officers military schools is 3 years. For the specialty of pilot-navigator, the term of instruction, beginning with the 1977-1981 contingent, is 4 years.

The term of study courses to train active officers is stipulated by the Ministry of National Defense.

In the case of reserve officers schools, the term of instruction is as stipulated in the legal norms in effect governing the fulfillment of military obligation.

In the Military Academy, the term of instruction is 2 years in the command and general staff departments (sections), military politics, and service departments, 5 years in the technical departments for engineers, and 3 years in the case of junior engineers.

## Article 3

Acceptance into active officers military schools, the Military Academy and active officers training courses is by competition.

All secondary school graduates with the baccalaureat diploma and diploma-holding graduates of schools equivalent to secondary schools are admitted to competition for acceptance into active officers military schools and active officers training courses.

All officers having time in military service and studies as stipulated by the Ministry of National Defense are admitted to competition for acceptance in command and general staff departments (sections) and military politics and service departments of the Military Academy; in the case of the technical departments, youths who have or have not completed military service, officers, military experts and noncommissioned officers are so admitted.

Candidates for competition for acceptance in the Military Academy must have a baccalaureat diploma or other equivalent. Graduates of institutions of higher education may be admitted to reserve officer training schools.

## Article 4

After moving into the final year of studies, students in active officers military schools are to take the graduation examination; those who pass this examination are to be given the graduation diploma, indicating the training specialty. Graduates of the pilot-navigator specialty will receive the pilot's certificate as well.

Courses organized to train active officers terminate with a graduation examination; those who pass this examination receive the graduation diploma.

Officers who have completed training courses for active officers may take competitive examinations to graduate from active officers military schools under conditions stipulated by the Ministry of National Defense.

Graduates of the Military Academy take the diploma examination. Those who pass the examination are given the licentiate or engineer (junior engineer) diploma, indicating the specialty for which they have been trained.

Graduates of active and reserve officer military schools, also courses organized to train active officers, as well as students of the Military Academy comprising youths with or without military service time, military experts and noncommissioned officers, are to be given officer rank under conditions stipulated by the Officers Corps Charter.

#### Article 5

The Military Academy organizes postgraduate instruction and confers scientific titles of Doctor and Doctor-Docent in sciences, in accordance with legal norms in force.

Specialties in which postgraduate instruction is organized and branches of science in which the doctorate is provided in the Military Academy are those listed in Annexes Nos 3 and 4.

Specialties for each branch of science in which the doctoral program is organized are jointly stipulated by the Ministry of Education and Instruction and the Ministry of National Defense.

Scientific specialty administrators responsible for supervising the training of doctoral candidates are appointed by the Ministry of Education and Instruction on the suggestion of the Ministry of National Defense.

Only graduates of the Military Academy or institutions of higher education of the corresponding level are to be admitted to the doctoral program.

Acceptance in the doctoral program, training of doctoral candidates, defense of the doctoral thesis and awarding of the degree of doctor and conferral of the degree of doctor-docent are to be effected in accordance with regulations in force.

#### Article 6

Graduates of military institutions training active officers are to be assigned to jobs for which their military studies on the appropriate level have prepared them, in accordance with the Officers Corps Charter and directives of the Ministry of National Defense.

Romanian citizens who have graduated from foreign military training institutions enjoy the rights due to graduates of this country's military training institutions, provided their curricula have been deemed equivalent by the Ministry of National Defense.

Diplomas attesting to graduation from military training institutions, as well as scientific titles conferred, also give to the bearer the right to join socialist organizations in civil functions for which the legal norms in force call for training at the same level, in specialties to be stipulated in a list drawn up by the Ministry of National Defense jointly with the Ministry of Education and Instruction, with the consent of the Ministry of Labor. On being assigned to civilian functions, consideration is to be given both to time in specialty and length of military service, on the basis of affidavits to be submitted by the military authorities in accordance with validations to be made by the Ministry of National Defense, with the approval of the Ministry of Labor.

Diplomas (certificates) attesting to graduation from 4-year higher officers schools and 2-year military officers schools whose graduates have also completed a refresher or specialty school or course of study with a minimum term of 1 year confer on the bearer, on being assigned to civilian duties, the same rights as in the case of graduates of 3-year active military officers schools.

#### Article 7

Military institution training officers are subordinate to the Ministry of National Defense and function under its supervision and control.

#### Article 8

The organizational structure, the specialty list, the profile, and the curricula of military training institutions for officers are stipulated by the Ministry of National Defense.

For technical departments, curricula are established in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Instruction.

#### Article 9

Military institutions training officers are established by law.

#### Article 10

The appointment and promotion of military teaching cadres to military training institutions are effected by the Ministry of National Defense.

The appointment, transfer and release of civilian teaching personnel in military training institutions are effected by the Ministry of National

Defense with the consent of the Ministry of Education and Instruction in accordance with the provisions of the Teaching Personnel Charter.

Confirmation of competition for teaching posts in military training institutions with regard to civilian personnel is effected in accordance with legal provisions in effect.

#### Article 11

Within their profile specialties, military training institutions listed in the present decree may also train specialists for other ministries under conditions stipulated by decision of the Council of Ministers.

#### Article 12

The term of instruction in military training institutions to train officers during wartime is as specified in Annex No 5.

#### Article 13

Annexes Nos 1-5 (supplied to interested institutions) form an integral part of the present decree.

#### Article 14

Provisions of the present decree are in effect beginning with the 1968-1969 school year (with the exception of the provisions of Articles 1-5, Article 6 paragraphs 3 and 4 and Articles 9, 12 and 13, which are in effect as of 7 July 1978).

Students who, as of the date the present decree goes into effect, are pursuing courses of instruction in military training institutions for officer training, with the exception of those who began studies in the 1968-1969 school year, are to continue the courses under conditions stipulated by the legal norms in force as of the date they entered the institutions.

Officers who have graduated from military training institutions before the present decree goes into effect, also those who are to graduate from such institutions under conditions stipulated in the preceding paragraph, also enjoy the rights stipulated by legal norms serving as the basis of the functioning of these military training institutions.

#### Article 15

As of the date the present decree goes into effect, Decree No 214 dated 13 June 1959 concerning the organization of higher military training, as modified by Decree No 556/1968, as well as Decree No 73 dated 10 February 1958 concerning the application of the provisions of Article 6 of Decree No 400/1957 and members of the armed forces graduating from military academies of the USSR, as well as all other contrary provisions, are repealed.

## YUGOSLAVIA

### LCY MINORITY-MAJORITY RELATIONS, PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 5, May 78 pp 34-43

[Article by Milorad Muratovic: "The Relationship Between the 'Majority' and 'Minority' in the Light of the Experience of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Though much debated in both theory and practice, the relationship between the "majority" and "minority" is among the most complex problems related to performance of the vanguard function of the League of Communists as the party of the masses and especially in problemizing its key principle of democratic centralism. One might say that the relationship between the "majority" and "minority" has a lasting relevance in all periods of our party's development. It is quite certain that the problems pertaining to this relationship are reflections of the League of Communist's performance of its pathfinding role as the leading and guiding vanguard factor in the processes of overall social transformation.

Up to now this problem has in both theory and practice been debated mostly concerning, first, the attitude of the member of the League of Communists toward the opinion of the "majority" on issues taken up in his basic organization and, second, the behavior of the member of the League of Communists vis-a-vis positions taken in the party. The first relationship has never been disputed in principle: free and open discussion, exchange and contest of opinions, critical attitude toward the views presented, and so on--as defined both in the program and the bylaws--not only have been allowed, but are stated to be indispensable conditions for arriving at the best solutions in a given situation.

The second relationship is the key one to our discussion: What is the stance of the member of the League of Communists who even after a thorough and democratic exchange of opinions in the local organization, in an organ or in a forum, that is, in the League of Communists as a whole, does not agree with the opinion of the "majority" nor with the positions adopted?

As the provisions of the bylaws have stood up to now, a member of our party in this position has had several options concerning his behavior: the member had to bow to the decision and implement the positions of the "majority"

without demur; the member of the party need not implement a decision with which he does not agree, though he had to take a loyal stance toward that decision; the member of the party could support his own opinion and position and advocate it even in the course of carrying out the decision of the "majority"; what is more, he could argue the correctness of his position, initiate a reexamination of the issue with consent of the local organization and organ so that he might persuade others as well; the member of the party has had the right and duty to raise an issue through superior organs and forums which has been decided by the "majority" of the membership in his local organization and leadership, when he feels that that question was decided contrary to the party line.<sup>1</sup>

An analysis of substance and style in the activity of basic organizations of the League of Communists in the period of implementing socialist self-management and self-management democracy leads us to note in the League of Communists several manifestational and empirical elements in that relationship which we might provisionally refer to as symbols: "the institutional minority," the "activist minority," the "permanent minority," the "passive" or "neutral minority," the "statistical ('mathematical') minority" and the "ad hoc" (occasional) or "creative minority."<sup>2</sup>

The period between the 9th and 10th congresses, just like the experience in implementing the decisions of the 10th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, are both a lesson and message of history to the effect that "institutionalization of the minority" in the processes of performance of the vanguard role of the League of Communists in self-management and in the class struggle to protect the achievements of the social revolution would necessarily turn into factions and factional strife. Factional strife would shatter the unity of the League of Communists and then of the working class of the nationalities and ethnic minorities. That is why only certain individuals have dilemmas in weighing the pros and cons of this viewpoint. The unified opposition to organized activity of the "minority" in the League of Communists is based on experience in the ideological and political struggle against antisocialist and antiself-management ideologies, which was very complicated, many-sided and continuous in the late sixties and the first half of the seventies. The experience gained in that struggle has still not been scientifically and politically problemized. It is, for one thing, a significant empirical experience that all opposition forces act on behalf of a partial class interest and display on their "banner" the aims of the working class and the formal "subsumption" of self-management.

An analysis of the substance of the activity of basic organizations in the period mentioned shows that on the average they have spent 10 hours a year debating the ideological and political struggle against opposition forces--dogmatists, nationalists, technobureaucrats, neo-Cominformists, neoliberals, national-unitarists, ultraleftists, and so on. So, the "institutional minority" is paralyzing, blocking and detracting from the established policy, striving in an organized way to frustrate the vanguard activity of basic organizations, organs and forums, that is, of the League of Communists

as a whole. It manifests its counterrevolutionary activity through individual national and cultural institutions, by establishing links with hostile forces abroad, and by using the news media. This form of "minority," then, operates along the line of the struggle against self-management, against brotherhood and unity, against performance of the vanguard function of the League of Communists, against the principle of active peaceful coexistence and nonalignment, and against freedom, equality and equal rights; and it disputes the claim of the working class to show itself to be the historical subject of the socialist revolution and of overall social development. In essence the "institutional minority" denies socialist cohesiveness and the primary role of the principals in the construction of socialism as set forth in the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (the direct producer, the work organization, the commune and socialist public organizations); in an organized way it frustrates practical implementation of the programmatic and strategic commitments in the ideology and policy of the League of Communists, it operates on the basis of an opposition ideological platform, that is, it acts as a faction within the ranks of the communist vanguard. This empirical experience is also the basis for the belief of the rank-and-file of the League of Communists in the organizations analyzed that institutional activity of a minority would ultimately shatter the unity of the League of Communists and of socialist Yugoslavia. It is also interesting that members of the League of Communists frequently warned of "breaches" through which this "minority" can occasionally impose itself as an institution. In this context they expressed a critical warning to the effect that in discussing "oppositional vagaries" certain organizations have unfortunately been slow to focus analytically on shortcomings in their own ranks. It is our own shortcomings--this experience of ours confirms with a number of arguments--that have always been the "fertile field" for activity of anti-Communist ideologies.

We shall provisionally denote the next form in which this phenomenon manifests itself by the epithet "activist minority,"<sup>3</sup> which would in fact be a qualitatively lower form than its institutionalization. In the documents of basic organizations, however, indicative examples are given of the vigorous activity of individuals subsequently called members of the opposition and factions, even before their real behavior and organized factional orientation were ascertained. This "earlier" period for some of the members of the opposition forces extended back even to the years of the armed revolution. Almost all "contemporary" nationalists, technocrats, liberals, leftists and unitarists have traveled the road from the "activist minority" to its institutionalization and factional activity. It has, of course, not been possible in all situations to immediately launch an organized campaign against those carrying on opposition activity, since the circumstances were not "ripe," the masses of people had not grasped the essence of personal, group and partial interests as the basic interests of counterrevolutionary oppositionism.<sup>4</sup>

In the documents of basic organizations examples are also given in which dogmatists were the spokesmen of oppositional conceptions in their own locales even at a considerably earlier date than their appearance in the form

of the "activist minority," the earlier manifestation being that of dogmatism, that is, in the form of "subsumption" of conservative consciousness, with all the "isms" preceded by a minus sign attached to its tail--from liberalism to technocracy by way of unitarism; once again their aim was to achieve a revision of socialist self-management in practice and to undermine the foundations of creative Marxism and to frustrate performance of the vanguard role of the League of Communists in self-management.

It might be said that party members and basic organizations were rather slow to spot the causes and manifestations of antiself-management behavior in the form of the "activist minority"; judgments to that effect are fairly general, a tolerant view is not uncommonly taken, and examples are not rare in which local shortcomings are played down. Sometimes the judgments of organs of the League of Communists concerning these cases are adopted as a "general commitment," as "lasting" truth and as a realization valid für ewig. An opportunistic attitude is still widespread concerning the taking of specific action to expose those involved in such manifestations while they are still at the level of the "activist minority." A small number of basic organizations (19 percent) have spelled out in their action programs their obligation to combat opportunistic behavior on the part of individuals, while still fewer (6 percent) go on to take specific steps to remove the causes and to really identify those responsible for these tendencies. At the same time, in some basic organizations (11 percent) it is said that those whose antiself-management behavior has previously been identified and declared have subsequently been placed in inappropriate jobs, which is contrary to the principles to which the League of Communists is committed and to the class criteria of personnel policy.

The data presented by 11 basic organizations (4.3 percent) states that certain members of the League of Communists are against the positions of the "majority" at all meetings, though at times they express this by abstaining from voting, though usually they express it by neglecting their activity in the work of public organizations and by opportunistic behavior toward the positions which have been adopted. There are also examples where such individuals even vote against their own proposal merely because the "majority" has adopted it. This phenomenon of coming out against the proposal of the "majority" we might indicate by the epithet "permanent minority." An analysis of the documents, actually observation of such members and other empirical knowledge offer sufficiently convincing indicators that these are citizens who entered the League of Communists too early or who should not have become members at all. "Some of them even deliberately evade the duty to declare themselves openly, and they do not regard militancy as a virtue, but as rashness. As a rule they do not stand in the way of wrong until it threatens them directly." Such members of the League of Communists "lull to sleep everything around them and provide abundant nourishment to conformity, demagoguery and sycophancy."<sup>5</sup>

It is a characteristic which they have in common that they are always throwing monkey wrenches into the processes of direct political action and are

frustrating the implementation of the positions adopted by the basic organization or organ of the League of Communists. Opposition expressed by these individuals against the decision of the "majority" serves as an alibi for their behavior according to their own personal interests and private "habits," while in essence it is contrary to the policy of the League of Communists. As a rule such individuals use a method of political work which makes it possible for them to establish links with technobureaucrats, neo-liberals, and so on, which is why the fight against them is very problematic. The difficulty lies in the fact that some basic organizations of the League of Communists do not spot all the aspects of the harmful behavior of such individuals.

Members who do not sufficiently understand the vanguard role of the League of Communists under the conditions of increasingly advanced socialist self-management and self-management democracy would be included in the "passive" or "neutral minority." Actually they do not have enough knowledge to be able to be active in implementing the views of the party.

In all 170 basic organizations (62.2 percent) declared that in their ranks there were those who keep silence, passive, neutral or indifferent members of the League of Communists. In 137 basic organizations (54.2 percent) it is said that "passive" members of the League of Communists usually accept a personal commitment in meetings only after seeing "several hands raised" in favor of a particular proposal. In 123 organizations (48.6 percent) it is noted that such members can become prey to antiself-management forces, while in 34 basic organizations (13.4 percent) the questionnaires state that "passive" members are actually in a "crisis situation" and are becoming a means of manipulation and transmission for antiself-management forces. Members in basic organizations are united in their commitment that they should wage an ideological-political campaign in such a way as to make "passive" members part of active political life, that is, that they should organize specific work to improve their competence in the fields of theory and ideology. Practical orientations like this are noted, however, in the programs and other documents of only 22 basic organizations (8.7 percent). It is interesting that in the basic organizations covered by the survey there was almost no pronounced awareness that the "passive" members also include some who not only never did think and act like communists (Lenin), but do not today so think and act and never will, though it would be logical to expel such individuals from the ranks of the vanguard.

In locales where the creative function of basic organizations and members of the League of Communists has not developed, that is, where the relations of self-management have been formalized, schematized and "rigged" activity of the League of Communists is noted. Organizations in such communities ordinarily take up only "directives coming from above." This is the estimate one might make of 37 (14.5 percent) of the total of 353 basic organizations. The greatest number of such organizations are in rural areas (25 or 67.6 percent), in urban local communities (11 or 29.7 percent), and in small work organizations (1 or 2.7 percent). It is significant that rural organizations

of the League of Communists are very little concerned with the development of self-management relations in rural areas and with the socialist transformation of agriculture. Only 9.8 percent of the total substantive content of their work concerns such issues, while organizational and technical matters comprise 76.5 percent of the proceedings of these organizations.

It is also rare that basic organizations of the League of Communists in urban local communities take up the strategic questions of the development of self-management relations in their locales (these questions comprise 15.3 percent and the problems of the communal infrastructures 73.4 percent of the items on their agendas).

The content of organizations of the League of Communists in such communities and the style of their activity and decisionmaking come down to "voting," that is, to adoption or rejection of the materials offered and the decisions proposed. That is why we have referred to this phenomenon with the term "mathematical" or "statistical minority." The way to solve these problems would be to improve the ideological competence of basic organizations and to create the necessary prerequisites (normative, social and political) for the practical implementation of self-management.

The "passive minority" and "mathematical minority" might even be numerically dominant in organizations where internal democratic relations are inadequately developed and where the application of democratic centralism has not yet been put in concrete terms. However, the role of the vanguard is historically evaluated on the basis of real results, and not on the basis of the formal number of members. Both in those communities and also in those organizations of the League of Communists there is a progressive nucleus which under favorable political circumstances becomes the pathfinder of revolutionary development. Our survey shows that in the process of upgrading those organizations the decisive role is played by organs in the form of opstina organizations of the League of Communists, this being achieved by setting into motion ideological and political activity on the part of the organizations in which "passive" members of the League of Communists are predominant. This activity affords the best results when it is aimed at making the organizations capable of eliminating the causes which bring about the "passive" and "statistical minority." Of course, when efforts are unsuccessful to activate the "passive" members of the League of Communists party organizations have a duty to carry out ideological-political differentiation, applying even the measures of expulsion of such members from the League of Communists. The League of Communists has no need for such members, nor indeed for organizations which do not perform their vanguard role.

By the "occasional" or "ad hoc" or "creative minority" we refer to the possibility of certain members of the League of Communists coming out against the positions proposed by the "majority," of not agreeing with the "majority," and of persisting in their own opinion, even though they are carrying out the decisions of the "majority." Application of this criterion puts basic organizations in a situation where some member of the League of Communists will be in the "minority" at one meeting, and in the next meeting in

the "majority," that is, at one meeting he is in the "minority" with one group, while at another he is in the "majority" with another group of members of the League of Communists. The "occasional minority" is a necessary condition of the work and activity of organizations and directive bodies of the League of Communists. It is an integral part of the creative development of basic organizations, of attainment of creative criticism and self-criticism, of the contest of opinions, a means of promoting new initiatives, of creating a comradely atmosphere, of nurturing a true party spirit, conscious responsibility, and wholesome moral and political traits of party members. After all, without a contest of opinions and creative dialog it is not possible to build unity in the League of Communists. Initiatives are taken by individuals or groups of members in 129 of the basic organizations analyzed, which is 51 percent. It is evident from the material that an "occasional minority" is evident in a majority of the basic organizations of the League of Communists.

On the other hand, the "passive," "neutral" and "statistical minority" is only a form taken by the underdevelopment of internal democratic life in certain basic organizations or of the underdevelopment of socialist self-management and self-management democracy in the locales where those organizations operate. These manifestations are in fact a consequence of components in the consciousness of individuals and groups not consistent with self-management.

Resolving the contradiction between the "minority" and "majority" is raised as an issue of ideological-political differentiation on the one hand and as the need for commitment to make the rank-and-file and organizations of the League of Communists capable of performing their vanguard role in socialist self-management on the other. This relation is manifested as a dilemma and problem for commitment in those basic organizations where a meaningful democratic life has not been developed, where the working-class, ethnic, age and sex-specific composition is not satisfactory, that is, where vital links between the League of Communists and the working class, public organizations and the institutions of self-management are not sufficiently strong.

We do not equate ideological-political differentiation with departure from the League of Communists (expulsion of members, dropping members from the rolls, and voluntary resignation), but we treat it in the broader context of invoking statutory methods of exerting corrective political pressure (criticism, self-criticism, denunciation of views, warning, last warning before expulsion, and so on). The idea of reducing differentiation to departure from the League of Communists is, however, dominant in basic organizations (this conception was expressed in 169 of the basic organizations analyzed, or 66.7 percent). But in spite of a certain opportunism toward the measures used to exert ideological-political and corrective pressure, the broader interpretation of the criterion of ideological-political differentiation is becoming more and more frequent. In the documents of 35 (13.8 percent) basic organizations in mid-1969 and of 54 (21.3 percent) in early 1974 ideological-political differentiation was placed in a broader context, and it

was also stated that this construction of differentiation contributes directly to strengthening the leading role of the League of Communists, to the growth of the public prestige and affirmation of the moral makeup of communists and of their organs. Authentic ideological-political differentiation strengthens the social-class foundations and contributes to an exemplary and constant supply to the League of Communists of members who authentically belong to the vanguard, that is, persons with an advanced socialist consciousness for whom entry into the ranks of the vanguard always means that they are authentically committed communists.

Real ideological-political differentiation is directly conducive to increased interest on the part of workers, working people and young people in becoming enrolled in the League of Communists. It is therefore a fundamental prerequisite for creative resolution of the traditional problem of the relationship between the "majority" and "minority." As socialist self-management and the institutions of the self-managed political system become stronger, the progressive forces and progressive outlooks gain strength, which is always a harbinger of an increase in membership and also of a differentiation within the League of Communists relative to the fundamental issues involved in implementing its policy; in exactly the same way the League of Communists, fighting vigorously to achieve the pluralism of self-management interests and equipping the institutions of self-management to achieve self-management pluralism of interests, becomes the true vanguard of the "majority" of the development of the entire society.

The "majority-minority" aspects are dimensions of democratic centralism, which is a vital and creative principle governing the action of the communist vanguard. These aspects cannot be reduced to an organizational and technical matter, but are an indication of the level of development of the League of Communists in its political ideology and organization for action, that is, of the extent to which the action of the League of Communists is related to the working class and the working people and their organized forces.

Isolation of the activity of basic organizations and directive bodies from real life and the neglect of issues which represent the immediate and enduring interests of the working people and of the organized factors of their socialist content always breaks out to the surface, and one of the ways this is displayed is as the problem of the "majority" and "minority" in party activity. On the other hand, in the creative work and action of organizations and organs of the League of Communists as the integrative and leading force of socialist self-management, its point of departure being a unified program, action and policy, this principle becomes an instrument for performing the vanguard function of the League of Communists, that is, a means of achieving the unity of the vanguard and of constantly binding it to the working class and working people, a means of building the unity of the vanguard. And this constant binding of the methods and substance of the vanguard's work with the working class and with all the working people is a mode of the creative activity of communists in the institutions of self-management and in sociopolitical organizations. The right for the broadest

self-management initiative and a different opinion is a necessary condition for unified action. But unified action of the vanguard is never confined to initiative and a different opinion. There is also a need for real action, authentic deeds, for practical confirmation of communist commitment, for unity of the member of the League of Communists and of the communist as a rational creative authority. Only this latter point constitutes a sufficient condition for performance of the vanguard's function in the further strengthening and development, but also protection, of socialist self-management, that is, for performance of the vanguard's function of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the context of self-management socialism, as the transitional period from the class-oriented to the classless socioeconomic formation.

For a long time we were under the pressure of the "diamat" [dialectical materialism] concept of the monolithic unity of the party in the sense of co-opted and manipulated thinking and behavior. Accepting the class nature of socialism as the transitional period, we did not draw sufficient consequences from that for the League of Communists.

The League of Communists is a party of the masses. It can perform its role only if it has constant links with the working class. It is therefore necessarily under the pressure of both "empirical" and "average" consciousness; in action it does indeed assume this, but never does it remain at that level of consciousness. The contradictions in society and even on an international scale (Yugoslavia is a part of the contemporary world in terms of economics, politics and social culture) necessarily find expression even in the content and style of the League of Communists, and indeed in the consciousness of its members. The League of Communists examines and analyzes the situation realistically and on that basis finds the appropriate solution both for its own action and also for the action of self-managed communities of interest and other organized socialist forces. In this finding of solutions it is not the sole factor, but it is the most responsible force committed to socialist transformation on the basis of self-management. After all, "it is in the nature of the communist vanguard to express the interests of the entire working class and to be an important factor toward integration of society.... The decisive issue for the League of Communists is the extent to which it faithfully expresses the historical interests of the working class in its ideological and political action. It cannot be the ideological-political pathfinder of the working class unless it wages a fight on an everyday basis to solve the vital problems of the working class and all the other working people."<sup>6</sup>

The natural consequence of this development is a growth of respect, but also enrichment and development of the criteria on the basis of which the working people evaluate the physiognomy of the communists, on the basis of which they define the basis of measurement for evaluation of the unity between ideas and words, between the words and deeds of the true vanguard fighters for the new relations in society and for the new norms of communist behavior.

We hold that an objective and comparative analysis of the proportional changes in the makeup of the membership between the congresses of our League of Communists would show a correlation with the transformation of society and would confirm the basic observations presented in this article. We will cite only one group of the proportional changes in the growth of party membership. Between the fifth (1948) and sixth (1952) congresses the membership increased by 487,730, or 171 percent; between the sixth and seventh (1958) the membership dropped 17,854, or 2.3 percent; between the seventh and eighth (1964) congresses the membership increased 276,568, or 36.63 percent; between the eighth congress and the ninth congress (1969) the membership recorded another increase of 114,450, or 9.69 percent; between the 9th and 10th (1974) congresses the membership dropped 69,373, or 6.05 percent; and at the end of 1977 the League of Communists of Yugoslavia had 546,901 members, or 50.79 percent more than at the time of the 10th congress. The discontinuity in the two intervals between congresses (between the 6th and 7th and between the 9th and 10th congresses) only confirms this viewpoint, since here the discontinuity is an expression of powerful revolutionary changes of direction both in society and within the League of Communists.

Moreover, in the period when the self-management relations and the institutions of self-management are becoming stronger, ideological-political differentiation is more comprehensive, and the growth in the membership of the League of Communists is more sizable. The party must never "allow any moment at which it is not creating the clearest possible consciousness in the workers"<sup>7</sup> concerning their real status, the contradictions of society, and the causes and consequences of the opposition forces. This is especially important because all of these are forms in which true social transformation is manifested. Those forms which we have examined relative to the relationship between the "majority" and "minority" in the League of Communists are a necessary consequence of those overall changes. After all, "various hotbeds still exist in our society where the adversary is operating from the positions of the disenfranchised bourgeois class, dogmatism and other positions."<sup>8</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Stane Dolanc, "Democratic Centralism in the Theory and Practice of the LCY," TEORIJA IN PRAKSA, No 3, 1967, pp 410-411.
2. The author of this article used several empirical methods (direct examination, analysis of the content of documents, questionnaire, written interview, test of knowledge, and panel discussion) to follow this relation among others. This survey covers the period between September 1969 and June 1974. In this report, whose purpose is illustrative, we used the data of an analysis of the substantive content and activity of 253 basic organizations in the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina chosen in 106 opstinas on the basis of the criterion of a representative sample. The examples which we give are merely an illustration of the manifestational forms of behavior and reaction of members in the period

we have mentioned, which is a very specific one in our development and constituted a well-known historical crossroads (Comrade Tito's Letter dated September 1972). It is our conviction that even today the relevant factors which we mention are not only an indication and a warning, but also a set of circumstances which is the cause of these tendencies and which has not been overcome.

3. We make a distinction between the "active" or "militant minority" in the period when the party was waging its struggle "for power" and the creative (progressive) minority in the context of socialist self-management and of this basically counterrevolutionary form of the minority in its activist form.
4. On this see K. Marx and F. Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," Part III; and then: Josip Broz Tito, "SKJ u novoj etapi razvoja socijalistickog samoupravljanja" [The LCY in the New Era of the Development of Socialist Self-Management], Novi Sad, 1976, p 248.
5. Branko Mikulic, "Rasprave" [Discussions], Oslobođenje, Sarajevo, 1978, p 65.
6. Josip Broz Tito, "Speech at the First General Assembly of the Federation," BORBA, 24 April 1973.
7. K. Marks and F. Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," Mladost, Belgrade, 1974, p 53.
8. Josip Broz Tito, "SKJ u novoj etapi ...," p 254.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### CIVIL DEFENSE IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA REVIEWED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 78 p 6

[Article by A. Husaric]

[Text] More than a million citizens of Bosnia and Hercegovina have completed programmed training in civil defense. More than 10,000 general-purpose and specialized units have been constituted, numbering more than 280,000 members. Approximately 240,000 persons have completed basic training, while more than 213,000 have completed supplementary training. In 97 of the 109 opstinas in Bosnia and Hercegovina, mass-scale civil defense activities have been organized. More than 6,500 exercises have been carried out, with participation by approximately 250,000 members of civil defense units and staffs and the total population of the areas involved.

In an interview with Zarko Kolenda, commander of the republic-level civil defense staff, we learned that more than 430 million dinars have been spent in the last 2 years alone on material strengthening and outfitting civil defense units. Among other things, approximately 100 modern fire trucks have been acquired, 22 special communal vehicles, more than 80 motor pumps, approximately 70,000 uniforms, etc. In many of the opstinas, equipment has been acquired for units for rescuing people from ruins, for medical-corps units, and for other civil defense units.

Although shelters are being built quite slowly in some opstinas, the pace has picked up recently in such centers as Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, and Zenica. Actually, the shelters that have been built are dual-purpose facilities, serving currently as warehouses for food products, hotel or restaurant facilities, young people's clubs, tunnels, and the like.

Within the framework of civil defense in Bosnia and Hercegovina, special steps have been taken to protect the population and property as effectively as possible. Several thousand persons have been trained for this purpose in self-organized seminars in nine areas of the republic. The citizens have acquired more than 600,000 individual protective sets, while basic

organizations of associated labor and other organizations and associations have supplied more than 80 percent of the total planned number of sets for collective radiological/chemical/biological protection for workers.

All civil defense exercises in Bosnia and Hercegovina have been of an operational nature. In the opstinas of the Sava valley and Semberija regions, the population and civil defense forces have joined with hydro-power organizations to build and maintain embankments and access roads and to provide the requisite construction materials. Twenty-three kilometers of roadway have been built or repaired in the opstinas of the Tuzla region, 28 kilometers of roadway in the Bijeljina vicinity, and 38 kilometers of roadway in the Cajnice vicinity. A relay was built in Foca with approximately 200,000 working hours contributed by civil defense workers.

Significant results have also been achieved in training leadership cadres for civil defense, especially cadres for staffs and commanders for general-purpose and specialized units. More than 600 commanders for general-purpose units and for firefighting, medical-corps, and radiological/chemical/biological units have completed courses in the republic-level training center alone.

"Civil defense occupies an exceptionally significant position in the preparations for defense and social self-protection," Kolenda told us. "Civil defense constitutes a strategic component of nationwide defense in terms of role, purpose, and tasks. Civil defense is the largest-scale mode of organization, preparation, and participation on the part of working people and citizens, basic organizations of associated labor, local and self-managing interest communities, and sociopolitical organizations and associations to protect and rescue people and property. Civil defense is being organized and readied in Bosnia and Hercegovina on a broad scale. More and more working people and citizens every day are becoming not only participants but also the most direct bearers of the buildup and development of the system of protection."

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